97-84160-20

Johnstone, Thomas McGimpsey

Northern Ireland: the crisis in industry

[Belfast]

[1930]

97-84160-20
MASTER NEGATIVE #

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DIVISION

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

ORIGINAL MATERIAL AS FILMED - EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD

308
Z
Box 706 Johnstone, Thomas McGimpsey, 1876-
Northern Ireland: the crisis in industry, by ... T. M. Johnstone ... [Belfast, Graham & Heslip, 1930]
40 p. illus., tables.

456321

RESTRICTIONS ON USE: *Reproductions may not be made without permission from Columbia University Libraries.*

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35 mm REDUCTION RATIO: 11:1 IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 8-11-97 INITIALS: RB

TRACKING # : 26765

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

INTENTIONAL
SECOND
EXPOSURES DUE TO
PHOTOGRAPHS

NORTHERN IRELAND

THE CRISIS IN INDUSTRY

From statue by J. Van Biesbroeck *Luxembourg Museum*

The People Mourn

HERE WE MEET SOPHISTRY WITH LOGIC, FALSEHOOD WITH FACTS, INSIDIOUS SUGGESTIONS WITH CONSTRUCTIVE ARGUMENTS, ERROR WITH TRUTH

6D

By THE REV. T. M. JOHNSTONE, B.A.

NORTHERN IRELAND

THE CRISIS IN INDUSTRY

From statue by J. Van Biesbrouck *Luxembourg Museum*

The People Mourn

HERE WE MEET SOPHISTRY WITH LOGIC, FALSEHOOD WITH FACTS, INSIDIOUS SUGGESTIONS WITH CONSTRUCTIVE ARGUMENTS, ERROR WITH TRUTH

6D

By THE REV. T. M. JOHNSTONE, B.A.

The People Mourn

All the loyal, friendly crew;
Shop-girls, toilers of the street,
Unknown heroes that we meet;
Teamsters, stevedores, and those
Who know the bitter toil and throes
Of fighting for the chance to live;

Their sorrow you can understand.
The chance to live—
To live among their own,
To live at home—
Is one that passes,
That passes from the land.

If a man drinks to drown his troubles he will find that they can swim —*R. A. Young*

Northern Ireland: The Crisis in Industry

By
THE REV. T. M. JOHNSTONE, B.A.
Newington Church, Belfast

Convener of Committeee on Temperance for the Presbyterian Church in Ireland

308
Z
Bap 706

"If the State does not control the liquor traffic, the liquor traffic will control the State"
—The late Lord Rosebery, K.G., K.T.

Governments which license the sale of intoxicating liquors can in no wise escape responsibility for the disasters issuing therefrom. They who will the means, will the deed.

Foreword.

As Northern Ireland is rapidly approaching a crisis—a crisis which may seal her fate as a commercial country—this brochure, at the instigation of some leading industrialists, has been prepared with the view of showing how the crisis may be safely negotiated, and trade and prosperity re-established in our land.

To save time and disappointment, the reader is warned at the outset that no appeal is made in these pages to such as successfully deceive themselves that all is well. But those who long for a richer regime, and who, in order to recreate same, are prepared to get down to unpleasant and disquieting facts relating to our present commercial position, business efficiency, and social life, will

FIND SOMETHING TO
MAKE THEM THINK
FURIOUSLY,

even though they may not endorse all the opinions expressed or accept all the conclusions drawn.

Our country and its people are not only experiencing in themselves the damage and hurt created by the association of poverty and drink, but both are thereby being held up to the scornful criticism of other nations. A correspondent who, in January of this year, accompanied the French Rugby team to Northern Ireland, on his return wrote a very damaging article which appeared in the French press. He spoke much of the barefooted children, and of their badly clothed parents, and then said: "It is their etiquette, their strength, their faith. A whisky is worth more to them than an outfit."

The facts and figures herein set forth have either been secured from Government departments or supplied by the industrial and commercial organizations with whose products they deal.

The Crisis in Industry.

IN taking this as our title, let us hasten to add, lest we should be confronted with the charge of scaremongering, that the responsibility rests not with us, but with one of our local papers, the "Belfast Telegraph," which employed it as the heading of an editorial in its issue of 20th February, 1930.

To warrant its own use of this title, the "Belfast Telegraph" stated: "This week there was a further large increase in the total of unemployed in the country, and the Chamber of Shipping believe that it is likely to grow if our exports go on declining at the present rate." Farther on in the editorial, there was a declaration of impending disaster on a nation-wide scale. Its words of warning were couched in the following terms:

> "We appear to be drifting in a direction which threatens national shipwreck, and in such an event the welfare of all classes, especially the workers, will be much impaired."

For the past few years the Churches, with increasing insistency, have been endeavouring to awaken the people of Northern Ireland to the economic catastrophe they saw approaching, and which, in part, is now upon us. In this hour the Churches make no complaint that their prophets were metaphorically stoned for so doing by both press and politicians. They feel repaid to think that, at last, there are signs pointing to the realization of our country's serious position, and that even the press no longer deems it politic to hide the unsavoury details from the public.

SEP 21 1945 PCR

In Days of Crisis.

No danger ever comes to a country from those who dispassionately survey the symptoms, diagnose the disease, and prescribe the remedy; but danger—inordinate and unpardonable—does come from those who, in spite of decreasing bank deposits, the dereliction and abandonment of costly factories and warehouses, and the ever-increasing figures of unemployment, persist in maintaining that all is well.

The "Daily Mail," on 25th February, 1930, declared: "Most of the firms in the staple industries have exhausted their reserve funds. Many of them have been working for years without profit. People throughout the country are coming to see that if ruin is to be averted, *action must be taken.*"

All this is justification for bringing together and presenting the facts of our local industrial position, **for while the percentage of insured persons unemployed in Great Britain stands (March, 1930) at 12.5 per cent., the percentage of insured persons unemployed in Northern Ireland is 17.2 per cent.** The position, though admittedly grave in England and Scotland, is, as we see, much worse here in Northern Ireland. It was no wonder Sir Hugh O'Neill, Bart., M.P., on 24th January, 1930, stated he was afraid the general outlook in the country was very disquieting. "Indeed, I often think it is decidedly gloomy," was his affirmation. Nor did he lighten the gloom by proceeding to express the hope that as our country had so often muddled through difficulties in the past, she might also muddle through those of the present.

This muddling-through policy has seldom proved a winning one. Such a policy lost Britain her American Colonies, the Dardanelles expedition, and was very nearly losing her the war. And there is nothing more certain than we shall lose our country's industries, if we continue into the future this muddling-through policy which has been followed so sedulously and so disastrously for the past seven years.

During the war we found it necessary, in order to lay the foundation of final victory, severely to restrict the machinations of the liquor traffic. From an industrial and social well-being point of view, we are now, in days of peace, faced with a more serious problem than in the days of war. Our problem to-day is one that concerns the question of our very existence as an industrial and commercial country.

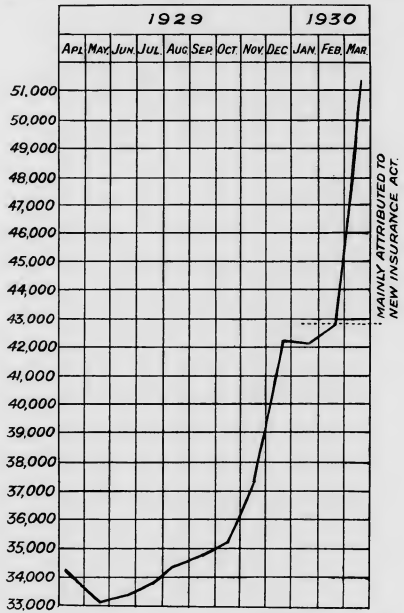
Extent of Unemployment.

The Truth.

The present serious position of unemployment may be gauged by a glance at the following chart. In this we see the figures have risen from 34,529 at end of April last year, 1929, till they are now 44,427 at 10th of March, 1930. Three years' figures are given in appendix. At end of April, 1927, the figures of unemployment were 30,346; at end of March, 1930, they are 53,634.

CHART

showing increase in figures of unemployment for past year.



Our reason for cutting off chart at the end of February, 1930, with dotted line, is the fact that during March over 5,000 were added to the unemployed figures, owing mainly to applications for benefit under the new Unemployment Insurance Act. We had no desire to take advantage of the worsened position, or to have the appearance of instituting an unfair comparison—though the 5,000 were all the while unemployed. The chart, therefore, shows the steady rise in unemployment throughout the past year.

Not the Whole Truth.

That the official figures always fall short of the actual numbers of unemployed was clearly demonstrated by the result of the new Insurance Act which came into force on 13th March, 1930. By this over 5,000 immediately came on to the register of which the Ministry of Labour had previously no official knowledge. The new Insurance Act did not manufacture these unemployed. It found them within the shadows wearily waiting for something to bring them under official notice.

Additional legislation could doubtless discover thousands more.

Mr. W. E. D. Allen, M.P. for West Belfast, at a crowded meeting of St. George's Unionist Association, on 21st October, 1929, was equally emphatic. He said: "The question of unemployment particularly affected that constituency, which had, he believed, *the largest percentage of unemployed of any constituency in the United Kingdom.*"

Mr. W. J. Stewart, M.P. for South Belfast, at a meeting of Windsor and Cromac Unionist Association, on 21st October, 1929, is reported to have said: "Unemployment was much worse than the figures indicated. The seriousness of the unemployment question was not fully realized."

The Portion Lacking.

In addition to the official figures of unemployed, now given as 53,634, cognisance must be taken of thousands of young people unemployed, and, because of their age, not registered. The unemployed are not registered till they are 16. Between 14 and 16 years of age, 48,000 young people pass out from the public elementary schools with the object of taking their place in the industrial arena. Though doubtless most of them are workless, nevertheless they are not included in the official list of unemployed. Again, there is nothing to show concerning the numbers struck off the list, and who, because little or nothing came of it, ultimately ceased signing themselves as unemployed. The same applies to those workless people who are recipients of outdoor relief, and to those lower still in the scale of well-being who have had to seek the shelter of the workhouse. The figures of these various groups find no place in the Ministry of Labour's statistics. Therefore the official list, scrupulously accurate though it may be, only indicates a portion of the long, sad roll of our country's unemployed.

Ever-Increasing.

Speaking to a large audience at the annual meeting of Bangor Branch of the North Down Women's Unionist Association in Bangor, on 13th February, 1930, Captain the Rt. Hon. Herbert Dixon, M.P., is reported as saying: "One other matter of outstanding importance is our financial position, which includes the *ever-increasing unemployment roll.*"

Incidence of Unemployment.

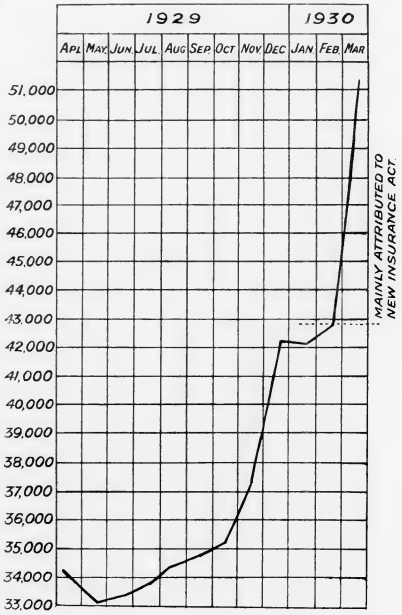
There seems to be an impression abroad that unemployment only pertains to the linen business. The truth is, there is not an industry in the country but is languishing and gradually being exterminated by the prevailing and persistent trade depression.

In the shipbuilding industry, where we thought everything was going splendidly, it would now seem that our optimism was too premature. Mr. W. J. Lovett, director of Workman, Clark, Ltd., speaking on 24th February, 1930,

QUEUE OF UNEMPLOYED WAITING TO REGISTER (MARCH, 1930).

CHART

showing increase in figures of unemployment for past year.



Our reason for cutting off chart at the end of February, 1930, with dotted line, is the fact that during March over 5,000 were added to the unemployed figures, owing mainly to applications for benefit under the new Unemployment Insurance Act. We had no desire to take advantage of the worsened position, or to have the appearance of instituting an unfair comparison—though the 5,000 were all the while unemployed. The chart, therefore, shows the steady rise in unemployment throughout the past year.

Not the Whole Truth.

That the official figures always fall short of the actual numbers of unemployed was clearly demonstrated by the result of the new Insurance Act which came into force on 13th March, 1930. By this over 5,000 immediately came on to the register of which the Ministry of Labour had previously no official knowledge. The new Insurance Act did not manufacture these unemployed. It found them within the shadows wearily waiting for something to bring them under official notice.

Additional legislation could doubtless discover thousands more.

Mr. W. E. D. Allen, M.P. for West Belfast, at a crowded meeting of St. George's Unionist Association, on 21st October, 1929, was equally emphatic. He said: "The question of unemployment particularly affected that constituency, which had, he believed, *the largest percentage of unemployed of any constituency in the United Kingdom.*"

Mr. W. J. Stewart, M.P. for South Belfast, at a meeting of Windsor and Cromac Unionist Association, on 21st October, 1929, is reported to have said: "Unemployment was much worse than the figures indicated. The seriousness of the unemployment question was not fully realized."

The Portion Lacking.

In addition to the official figures of unemployed, now given as 53,634, cognisance must be taken of thousands of young people unemployed, and, because of their age, not registered. The unemployed are not registered till they are 16. Between 14 and 16 years of age, 48,000 young people pass out from the public elementary schools with the object of taking their place in the industrial arena. Though doubtless most of them are workless, nevertheless they are not included in the official list of unemployed. Again, there is nothing to show concerning the numbers struck off the list, and who, because little or nothing came of it, ultimately ceased signing themselves as unemployed. The same applies to those workless people who are recipients of outdoor relief, and to those lower still in the scale of well-being who have had to seek the shelter of the workhouse. The figures of these various groups find no place in the Ministry of Labour's statistics. Therefore the official list, scrupulously accurate though it may be, only indicates a portion of the long, sad roll of our country's unemployed.

Ever-Increasing.

Speaking to a large audience at the annual meeting of Bangor Branch of the North Down Women's Unionist Association in Bangor, on 13th February, 1930, Captain the Rt. Hon. Herbert Dixon, M.P., is reported as saying: "One other matter of outstanding importance is our financial position, which includes the *ever-increasing unemployment roll.*"

Incidence of Unemployment.

There seems to be an impression abroad that unemployment only pertains to the linen business. The truth is, there is not an industry in the country but is languishing and gradually being exterminated by the prevailing and persistent trade depression.

In the shipbuilding industry, where we thought everything was going splendidly, it would now seem that our optimism was too premature. Mr. W. J. Lovett, director of Workman, Clark, Ltd., speaking on 24th February, 1930,

QUEUE OF UNEMPLOYED WAITING TO REGISTER (MARCH, 1930).

at the Belfast Rotarian weekly luncheon, made himself responsible for the following pronouncement:

> "At present fifty per cent. of their building slips would suffice for the required output, and expensively-equipped yards working at fifty per cent. capacity in the face of fierce competition could not hope to be commercially sound. There was undoubtedly *a growing wave of pessimism* both in shipowning and shipbuilding circles. Unemployment in shipbuilding was about twenty-four per cent., and in Northern Ireland the figure had been over thirty-five per cent. during the recent strike."

Coueism is as criminal in the sphere of national economics as it is foolish and futile in cases of personal organic malignancy. There is only one thing for a brave country to do, and that is to cut out the cancer, and set its heart toward the highway of trade recovery and human betterment.

Effects of Unemployment.

The effects of this prolonged unemployment are vast and varied. Life is touched injuriously at every point, and generations yet unborn will bear the scars of this suffering.

Prof. C. G. Lowry, 27th February, 1930, in presenting the report of the Incorporated Belfast Maternity Hospital, declared: "It was a matter for regret, *and unfortunately reflected the economic conditions of the time,* how many of the patients were underfed and over-worked. Sometimes they were not in a position to avail themselves of admission owing to the fear of losing their employment."

His Honour The Recorder of Belfast, 21st October, 1929, addressing the Grand Jury, used these words: "A not pleasing feature of the figures was the number of attempted suicides, six, which was the largest number in his experience."

Employment in America.

We do not use the phrase *"unemployment* in America," because in spite of what the press on this side say, unemployment as we know it in Northern Ireland is really a negligible quantity in the United States. A cablegram received on 7th March, 1930, from Dr. Doran, U.S.A. Government Commissioner for Prohibition, puts it as follows:—

"Secretary of Labour Staff estimates three million unemployed."

This spread over a population of 120,000,000 works out at 2.5 per cent. of the population.

Again, it has to be noted that two out of these three millions are only temporarily out of work, and that these two millions will, in a few weeks, practically all be working, and many of them working overtime. They are unemployed at the moment, not for want of work, but simply because of seasonal difficulties. In a month, there will not be more than one million unemployed in the United States, and that is made up largely of the workshies and those who are inefficient.

Employment at Home.

Such British statesmen as are not blinded by self-interest or party considerations have been quick to see the relationship between our expenditure on drink and our unemployment problem.

The Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden, M.P., Chancellor of the Imperial Exchequer, says:

> "I do not say that the abolition of the liquor traffic, under the existing economic system, would wholly solve the unemployment problem, but I do say this: If the expenditure was diverted into useful channels, the unemployment problem would be reduced to such small dimensions that it would be a comparatively easy matter for the State to deal with the amount that still remained."

The Rt. Hon. William Graham, LL.D., M.P., President of the Board of Trade, is no less explicit:

> "There is not the slightest doubt that economy in the consumption of intoxicants until that expenditure is eliminated altogether, would have an almost immediate effect on unemployment; in short, the redirection of expenditure which such a change would permit would encourage the employment of a considerable number of people. It is not suggested for one moment that drink expenditure is the sole cause of unemployment, but it is beyond challenge that it seriously affects that problem."

Dead and Dying Industries.

Answering a question in our Northern Parliament, the Minister of Commerce, on 24th February, 1930, said: "He found on reference to the records kept by the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, that fifty-five limited companies engaged in the textile industries had gone into liquidation within the period 1st January, 1923, to 31st December, 1929. He should mention, however, that this numerical loss had been more than offset by new registrations within the same period."

Well and Doing Well.

According to this, everything in the garden is lovely—just as it ought to be! Like so many other Parliamentary replies, when you get a close-up view the outlook unfortunately is not quite so rosy. Especially is this so, when it is borne in mind that among the fifty-five limited companies which went into liquidation, there were quite a number of spinning mills and factories, employing many thousands of operatives, while the new registrations, supposed by the Ministry of Commerce to offset the liquidated companies, are practically all warehouses or offices, and, therefore, in the matter of machinery and employees not in the same category.

Moreover, it has to be borne in mind that the position of the textile industries in Northern Ireland is very much more serious than the lists of liquidation indicate. There are many mills and factories that have been closed for a considerable while, though they have not yet gone into liquidation. The position of these is ruinous, as it costs the owners in each case many thousands annually, in interest, insurance, and other necessary charges, even to keep them idle. Lastly, the mills and factories which continue to operate, do so, many of them, at a considerable loss, and solely out of consideration for their workers. However, even in this case, the day of doom draws apace, unless some remedy is sought, sought immediately and sought earnestly.

OUR IDLE MILLS.

at the Belfast Rotarian weekly luncheon, made himself responsible for the following pronouncement:

> "At present fifty per cent. of their building slips would suffice for the required output, and expensively-equipped yards working at fifty per cent. capacity in the face of fierce competition could not hope to be commercially sound. There was undoubtedly *a growing wave of pessimism* both in shipowning and shipbuilding circles. Unemployment in shipbuilding was about twenty-four per cent., and in Northern Ireland the figure had been over thirty-five per cent. during the recent strike."

Coucism is as criminal in the sphere of national economics as it is foolish and futile in cases of personal organic malignancy. There is only one thing for a brave country to do, and that is to cut out the cancer, and set its heart toward the highway of trade recovery and human betterment.

Effects of Unemployment.

The effects of this prolonged unemployment are vast and varied. Life is touched injuriously at every point, and generations yet unborn will bear the scars of this suffering.

Prof. C. G. Lowry, 27th February, 1930, in presenting the report of the Incorporated Belfast Maternity Hospital, declared: "It was a matter for regret, *and unfortunately reflected the economic conditions of the time,* how many of the patients were underfed and over-worked. Sometimes they were not in a position to avail themselves of admission owing to the fear of losing their employment."

His Honour The Recorder of Belfast, 21st October, 1929, addressing the Grand Jury, used these words: "A not pleasing feature of the figures was the number of attempted suicides, six, which was the largest number in his experience."

Employment in America.

We do not use the phrase *"unemployment* in America," because in spite of what the press on this side say, unemployment as we know it in Northern Ireland is really a negligible quantity in the United States. A cablegram received on 7th March, 1930, from Dr. Doran, U.S.A. Government Commissioner for Prohibition, puts it as follows:—

"Secretary of Labour Staff estimates three million unemployed."

This spread over a population of 120,000,000 works out at 2.5 per cent. of the population.

Again, it has to be noted that two out of these three millions are only temporarily out of work, and that these two millions will, in a few weeks, practically all be working, and many of them working overtime. They are unemployed at the moment, not for want of work, but simply because of seasonal difficulties. In a month, there will not be more than one million unemployed in the United States, and that is made up largely of the workshies and those who are inefficient.

Employment at Home.

Such British statesmen as are not blinded by self-interest or party considerations have been quick to see the relationship between our expenditure on drink and our unemployment problem.

The Rt. Hon. Philip Snowden, M.P., Chancellor of the Imperial Exchequer, says:

> "I do not say that the abolition of the liquor traffic, under the existing economic system, would wholly solve the unemployment problem, but I do say this: If the expenditure was diverted into useful channels, the unemployment problem would be reduced to such small dimensions that it would be a comparatively easy matter for the State to deal with the amount that still remained."

The Rt. Hon. William Graham, LL.D., M.P., President of the Board of Trade, is no less explicit:

> "There is not the slightest doubt that economy in the consumption of intoxicants until that expenditure is eliminated altogether, would have an almost immediate effect on unemployment; in short, the redirection of expenditure which such a change would permit would encourage the employment of a considerable number of people. It is not suggested for one moment that drink expenditure is the sole cause of unemployment, but it is beyond challenge that it seriously affects that problem."

Dead and Dying Industries.

Answering a question in our Northern Parliament, the Minister of Commerce, on 24th February, 1930, said: "He found on reference to the records kept by the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, that fifty-five limited companies engaged in the textile industries had gone into liquidation within the period 1st January, 1923, to 31st December, 1929. He should mention, however, that this numerical loss had been more than offset by new registrations within the same period."

Well and Doing Well.

According to this, everything in the garden is lovely—just as it ought to be! Like so many other Parliamentary replies, when you get a close-up view the outlook unfortunately is not quite so rosy. Especially is this so, when it is borne in mind that among the fifty-five limited companies which went into liquidation, there were quite a number of spinning mills and factories, employing many thousands of operatives, while the new registrations, supposed by the Ministry of Commerce to offset the liquidated companies, are practically all warehouses or offices, and, therefore, in the matter of machinery and employees not in the same category.

Moreover, it has to be borne in mind that the position of the textile industries in Northern Ireland is very much more serious than the lists of liquidation indicate. There are many mills and factories that have been closed for a considerable while, though they have not yet gone into liquidation. The position of these is ruinous, as it costs the owners in each case many thousands annually, in interest, insurance, and other necessary charges, even to keep them idle. Lastly, the mills and factories which continue to operate, do so, many of them, at a considerable loss, and solely out of consideration for their workers. However, even in this case, the day of doom draws apace, unless some remedy is sought, sought immediately and sought earnestly.

OUR IDLE MILLS.

Is This Hopeful?

The following is a list of the mills and factories in the linen trade which have, in recent days, either closed down entirely or are not now working.

FACTORIES.

20 Closed — 6,145 Looms.

(The above does not include Charters' or Agnes Street.)

SPINNING MILLS.

Closed Down.

	SPINDLES
Thomas Adair, Ltd. - - -	13,000
Boyne Spinning & Weaving Co., Ltd.	10,000
Cork Spinning & Weaving Co., Ltd.	19,190
New Northern Spinning & Weaving Co., Ltd. (Charters' Mill) -	24,750
4 Mills - - -	66,940

Not Working.

	SPINDLES
Brookfield Linen Co., Ltd. - -	24,786
Cogry Flax Spinning Co. -	13,318
Gunning & Campbell, Ltd. -	18,606
Irish Flax Spinning Co., Ltd - -	10,726
Portadown Spinning Co., Ltd. -	9,120
New Roan Spinning Co., Ltd. -	7,444
Abraham Wilson, Ltd. - -	7,868
7 Mills - - -	91,868

One might indeed write over these derelict mills and factories (as Mr. Wm. Leeper, D.L., Cookstown, recently suggested) the words ascribed to Simonides of Ceos—

"Go tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,
That here, obedient to their laws, we lie."

Business Men's Views.

On the present position and outlook of the linen industry, the following opinions were recently expressed by some of its leading men.

Mr. W. H. Webb, D.L., President of the Northern Ireland Chambers of Commerce, when addressing the members of the Portadown Chamber at their annual luncheon on 30th January, 1930, said:

"It had for some time been considered unpatriotic to talk other than in a vein of muddle-headed optimism about the future of their industries. But what was the good of talking optimism, when there was nothing at the back of it? In America they called this sort of thing 'talking ballyhoo.' They had almost ten years of 'ballyhoo' in this country, and it was time it dried up and they got down to unpleasant facts."

Mr. F. H. MacLean, of Whiteabbey Flax Spinning Co., who presided at a joint meeting of the Whiteabbey branches of the Carrick Unionist Association on 31st January, 1930, said:

"There was no use trying to make the public believe that things were improving, because they were not. That is the stuff we are fed on by professional politicians year in and year out. Unless the question is seriously taken up, I really wonder what the end of the whole thing is going to be."

Great Britain is Taking up the Matter.

A special committee from Great Britain, under the chairmanship of Sir William Mackenzie, visited America to study its business conditions. In the official report rendered they declared:

"Prohibition is among the causes of America's industrial success. Its economic effect has been very great by the diversion of large sums into savings and the purchase of commodities and by increasing the regularity of attendance at work."

President Hoover's Opinion.

The conclusions of Britain's special committee are borne out by Mr. Hoover, the President of America, who made a study of factory productions in U.S.A.:

"There can be no doubt of the economic benefits of prohibition. Viewing the temperance question only from this angle, prohibition has proved its case. I think increased temperance over the land is responsible for a good share

of the enormously increased efficiency in production, which statistics gathered by the Department of Commerce show to have followed passage of the prohibition law. Exhaustive study from many angles of production over average periods, ten years apart before and since the war, would indicate that while our productivity should have increased about fifteen per cent., due to the increase in population, yet the actual increase has been from twenty-five to thirty per cent., indicating an increase of efficiency of somewhere from one to fifteen per cent."

CLEARING A PATH TO PROSPERITY

Ulster's Efforts Frustrated

2,965 Public-Houses bar the way

Bad Banking Means Bad Business.

While American bank balances, during the last ten years, have been mounting higher and higher, and the business of the country increasing correspondingly, ours, in both respects, have been gradually decreasing.

Joint Stock Banks, N. Ireland.

	1922.	1928.
Deposits ...	£53,330,796	£45,907,952
Advances ...	32,608,101	29,560,774
Surplus Deposits over Advances ...	£20,722,695	£16,347,178

Trustee Savings Bank

	1922.	1927.
Balance due to Depositors ...	£3,696,891	£4,716,716

This means that the deposits in our trustee savings banks increased by £1,019,825, while our deposits over advances in the joint stock banks have decreased by £4,375,517. If we deduct the increase of the one from the decrease of the other, we get a net decrease of £3,355,692. That, in itself, is a loss in interest to the country of at least £170,000, to say nothing of the service which it denies to trade and industry. A portion of the loss must be assigned to and counted among the costs which the liquor traffic imposes upon the country.

Industry Can Revive.

Temperance reform is everywhere the bluebird of prosperity and progress. Here are some of the wonders already wrought by prohibition in the United States.

There is no better index to prosperity than the savings accounts of the nation. While these are only a part of the total savings, they probably mirror more accurately than any other single factor the better conditions of the wage-earners of the country.

	1918.	1928.
Savings Bank Deposits, over	£1,874,000,000	£5,560,000,000
Life Insurance, over	£7,000,000,000	£20,000,000,000
House Building	£379,000,000	£1,600,000,000

What Drink Costs.

A good deal of confusion exists as to what intoxicating liquors cost the country. One will give a figure which means the actual out-of-pocket expenses to the drinkers. These expenses, at present, mean £4,000,000 per annum.

Another will deduct from this sum

the amount of revenue (1927-28), £1,967,882, and talk of the cost as roughly £2,000,000. A third will add to the amount paid by the drinkers, such other costs as are imposed upon the country (e.g., police, poor relief, asylums, prisons, workhouses, pensions, unemployment), owing to the social, moral, and economic damage wrought by the liquor traffic's very existence.

In this way we get different figures. But the following summary, compiled from the Ulster Year Book or secured from other reliable sources, will enable you to figure it out for yourself.

For 1928 the Drink Bill was about £4,000,000. Of this sum the Government received as revenue £1,967,882. The net cost of Drink to the country was therefore practically - - -	£2,000,000
Police Costs for 1928, £883,216. Of this total, Drink was accountable for at least one-fourth -	220,000
Poor Relief, 1927, £390,156. All reliable authorities apportion fifty per cent. as drink-caused	195,000
Asylums, 1927, £228,833. Drink-caused portion estimated at ten per cent., say - - - -	22,000
Prisons, etc., 1928, £51,904. Drink-caused estimated at fifty per cent., say - - -	25,000
Pensions—Widows', Orphans', Old Age, 1928, £259,823. Drink-caused portion, say - -	50,000
Bank Deposits — Net decrease, £3,355,692. Five per cent. interest would be practically £170,000. Drink carries at least a twenty-five per cent. responsibility for this, say - -	42,000
Industrial Efficiency. According to the census of 1926, there are 570,706 persons gainfully occupied in the industry of the country. At an average of £1.10s. per week per individual, these create an annual work value of £44,515,068. Prohibition, it is estimated, would increase this by ten per cent., say	4,451,506
	£7,005,506

The present Imperial Chancellor says: "The indirect loss and the drain upon national resources through the expenditure upon drink came to far more than the money directly spent upon the commodity." This statement is borne out clearly by our own figures, which show the money directly spent upon the commodity to be £4,000,000, whereas the indirect loss and drain upon national resources amounts to £5,005,506.

In this bill of charges, we have taken no account of what unemployment is costing the country. The Imperial Chancellor, Mr. Philip Snowden, speaking of Britain, says: "Unemployment costs us directly £60,000,000 a year. As Britain has a population of roughly 40,000,000, that means unemployment costs Britain £1,500,000 to each million of population." According to that calculation the direct cost of unemployment in Northern Ireland would be £1,875,000.

We have not charged drink with any portion of this, but the citation of costs provides an additional urgency for the discovery of a remedy which will diminish or banish unemployment.

MILL NOT WORKING.

The Liquor Traffic.

The agency which imposes this colossal and ruinous expenditure upon the country is the liquor traffic, which, for reasons quite well understood, enjoys in Northern Ireland a greater immunity from legislative restrictions than possibly anywhere else in Europe. While the people of other lands are experiencing drastic legislative reductions in the number of public-houses, Northern Ireland has got no assistance whatever in this respect from Parliament. By the Act of 1923, spirit grocers' licences were practically all extinguished, but so far as public-houses are concerned, the facilities for drinking are still as numerous as ever, notwithstanding the fact that the population is only drinking about half what it did a few years ago. Such public-houses as have gone out of existence, an average of about fifteen per annum, have done so of their own volition.

Public Houses.

Bearing in mind the population of Northern Ireland is about 1,250,000, a total only slightly in excess of the population of the city of Glasgow, it is difficult to realize that we continue to license the sale of intoxicating liquors in no fewer than 2,965 public-houses, and that these public-houses are permitted, in times of unparalleled industrial depression like the present, to sell their wealth-destroying liquors for twelve hours every week-day, which is four hours per day more than is permitted in either England or Scotland.

Number of premises licensed for sale of intoxicating liquors in Northern Ireland, together with their numerical relationship to population.

County or County Borough	Population 1926	Licensed for Sale		Works out at *One* Licence to each undernoted number of population
		"ON"	"OFF"	
Belfast County Borough	415,151	554	115	620
Londonderry County Borough	45,159	192	2	232
Antrim	191,643	437	11	427
Armagh	110,070	248	5	435
Down	209,228	552	12	371
Fermanagh	57,984	128	0	453
Londonderry (excluding County Borough)	94,534	286	6	323
Tyrone	132,792	407	10	318
	1,256,561	2,804	161	424
N.B.—In Contrast				
America	120,000,000	0	0	0
Finland	3,500,000	0	0	0
England and Wales		78,333	22,353	504

the amount of revenue (1927-28), £1,967,882, and talk of the cost as roughly £2,000,000. A third will add to the amount paid by the drinkers, such other costs as are imposed upon the country (e.g., police, poor relief, asylums, prisons, workhouses, pensions, unemployment), owing to the social, moral, and economic damage wrought by the liquor traffic's very existence.

In this way we get different figures. But the following summary, compiled from the Ulster Year Book or secured from other reliable sources, will enable you to figure it out for yourself.

For 1928 the Drink Bill was about £4,000,000. Of this sum the Government received as revenue £1,967,882. The net cost of Drink to the country was therefore practically - - -	£2,000,000
Police Costs for 1928, £883,216. Of this total, Drink was accountable for at least one-fourth -	220,000
Poor Relief, 1927, £390,156. All reliable authorities apportion fifty per cent. as drink-caused	195,000
Asylums, 1927, £228,833. Drink-caused portion estimated at ten per cent., say - - - -	22,000
Prisons, etc., 1928, £51,904. Drink-caused estimated at fifty per cent., say - - -	25,000
Pensions—Widows', Orphans', Old Age, 1928, £259,823. Drink-caused portion, say - -	50,000
Bank Deposits — Net decrease, £3,355,692. Five per cent. interest would be practically £170,000. Drink carries at least a twenty-five per cent. responsibility for this, say - -	42,000
Industrial Efficiency. According to the census of 1926, there are 570,706 persons gainfully occupied in the industry of the country. At an average of £1.10s. per week per individual, these create an annual work value of £44,515,068. Prohibition, it is estimated, would increase this by ten per cent., say	4,451,506
	£7,005,506

The present Imperial Chancellor says: "The indirect loss and the drain upon national resources through the expenditure upon drink came to far more than the money directly spent upon the commodity." This statement is borne out clearly by our own figures, which show the money directly spent upon the commodity to be £4,000,000, whereas the indirect loss and drain upon national resources amounts to £5,005,506.

In this bill of charges, we have taken no account of what unemployment is costing the country. The Imperial Chancellor, Mr. Philip Snowden, speaking of Britain, says: "Unemployment costs us directly £60,000,000 a year. As Britain has a population of roughly 40,000,000, that means unemployment costs Britain £1,500,000 to each million of population." According to that calculation the direct cost of unemployment in Northern Ireland would be £1,875,000.

We have not charged drink with any portion of this, but the citation of costs provides an additional urgency for the discovery of a remedy which will diminish or banish unemployment.

MILL NOT WORKING.

The Liquor Traffic.

The agency which imposes this colossal and ruinous expenditure upon the country is the liquor traffic, which, for reasons quite well understood, enjoys in Northern Ireland a greater immunity from legislative restrictions than possibly anywhere else in Europe. While the people of other lands are experiencing drastic legislative reductions in the number of public-houses, Northern Ireland has got no assistance whatever in this respect from Parliament. By the Act of 1923, spirit grocers' licences were practically all extinguished, but so far as public-houses are concerned, the facilities for drinking are still as numerous as ever, notwithstanding the fact that the population is only drinking about half what it did a few years ago. Such public-houses as have gone out of existence, an average of about fifteen per annum, have done so of their own volition.

Public Houses.

Bearing in mind the population of Northern Ireland is about 1,250,000, a total only slightly in excess of the population of the city of Glasgow, it is difficult to realize that we continue to license the sale of intoxicating liquors in no fewer than 2,965 public-houses, and that these public-houses are permitted, in times of unparalleled industrial depression like the present, to sell their wealth-destroying liquors for twelve hours every week-day, which is four hours per day more than is permitted in either England or Scotland.

Number of premises licensed for sale of intoxicating liquors in Northern Ireland, together with their numerical relationship to population.

County or County Borough	Population 1926	Licensed for Sale "ON"	Licensed for Sale "OFF"	Works out at *One* Licence to each undenoted number of population
Belfast County Borough	415,151	554	115	620
Londonderry County Borough	45,159	192	2	232
Antrim	191,643	437	11	427
Armagh	110,070	248	5	435
Down	209,228	552	12	371
Fermanagh	57,984	128	0	453
Londonderry (excluding County Borough)	94,534	286	6	323
Tyrone	132,792	407	10	318
	1,256,561	2,804	161	424
N.B.—In Contrast				
America	120,000,000	0	0	0
Finland	3,500,000	0	0	0
England and Wales		78,333	22,353	504

In the city of Derry we have a public-house to every 232 of the citizens, or one to every forty-eight families. The tragedy of it all is, the poorer the district, the greater the number of public-houses. Many of these public-houses are the most squalid-looking properties in the whole locality. Both by their appearance and the rendezvous they provide for undesirable people, they lower the tone of life in their area, and, in addition, deteriorate the value of adjoining properties, while encumbering and wasting valuable sites which would be of great service to legitimate industry. A short time ago a public-house went out of existence in the centre of Belfast; now a great bank has risen on the site, which is an architectural asset to the city. This will provide much more employment than the public-house displaced, and will do good instead of evil.

Clubs.

Not only have we these 2,965 public-houses as centres for the distribution of drink: we have also in Northern Ireland

71 Registered Clubs,

with a membership of 16,316, and with an expenditure on intoxicating liquor of over £74,000.

These clubs are worse than public-houses as a means of supplying alcohol. They only pay a nominal fee for registration, can purvey liquor at all sorts of unreasonable hours, are not subject to the same police inspection, and carry on their liquor supplying practices behind sealed doors so far as the public are concerned. One of these working-men's clubs, with a membership of less than two hundred, spent over £3,000 during 1928 on intoxicating liquor.

Court Description of Belfast Home.

An item of cost seldom taken into account is the deterioration of the mind and muscle of the worker in the days of child and youth. Here is a picture of one of our Belfast homes, where even the very "dole" goes in drink.

"Sergeant Ormonde stated that early in the morning, on hearing a woman's shouts, he went to ———'s house, where he found him drunk and using abominable language. Accused took his elder daughter on his knee, and was teaching her to repeat that her mother was immoral. He menaced witness with a poker. When witness examined the upstairs accommodation, he found the furniture consisted of an old and dirty mattress with no bedclothes, and a cradle in which the baby was lying with an old coat thrown over it. All the food he discovered in the house was as stated.

"Dole" Money.

"———, accused's wife, said that on Friday he left the house to draw the 'dole,' returning at midnight drunk. He assaulted her, and she was obliged to run out of the house to seek police protection."

In here showing the extent of the drink evil, as well as its disastrous effects on human and commercial well-being, we are not charging working-men or anybody else either with drunkenness or with the inferior workmanship which drunkenness begets; still further are we from seeking to convey the impression that the country is "reeking with drunkenness." Vast sums can be wasted, and in Northern Ireland are indisputably wasted on alcohol by many who may never be drunk in the ordinary sense of the term. They are seldom or never incoherent or unstable in their ways, yet, though not altogether wasting their substance, such people can spend a great deal more on this narcotic poison than is good either for their mind, body, or estate. Those who desire this present ruinous condition of things to continue should, in all fairness, seek for some other way of accomplishing their guilty designs than that of adopting the cunning, unscrupulous device of unjustly accusing the friends of temperance of maligning their fellows or befouling their country.

New Bank (March, 1930) on site of former public-house known as "The Gin Palace."

Abraham Lincoln, as far back as 1842, said:

"Whether or not the world would be vastly benefited by a total and final banishment from it of all intoxicating drinks, seems to me not now an open question. Three-fourths of mankind confess the affirmative with their tongues, and, I believe, all the rest acknowledge it in their hearts."

Ulster Government's Contribution.

The problem of unemployment in Northern Ireland is not by any means a new one, but the longer it lasts, the country is less and less able to endure it.

On the 26th November, 1923, there were 40,697 persons registered as unemployed in Northern Ireland. And so serious did these figures at the time seem, that the Premier, speaking on 28th November, 1923, is reported in the Press as follows:

Reverse and be Right

Mills and Factories Closed

Public-Houses Open

The Premier's Promise.

"Speaking last night at a great meeting in support of the candidature of Mr. R.J. Lynn, the official Unionist nominee for West Belfast, the Premier, Sir James Craig, made a cheering statement in regard to unemployment in Ulster. All previous efforts to solve the problem, he said, were mere tinkering, and however the election went across the water, **he would solve the unemployment difficulty in Ulster himself if need be.**"

Seven years have come and gone since that "cheering" statement was made by the Premier, and yet the present numbers of unemployed are 53,634, practically 13,000 more than they were on that earlier historic occasion.

In the meanwhile, many things were, of course, done. The Derating Act conferred benefit upon the agricultural community; trade guarantees helped the shipbuilding industry; grants for new houses, construction of new schools and police barracks gave an encouragement to the building trades. But few of the plans tried could be regarded as remedies for unemployment. At best they merely mitigated some of the disastrous results of unemployment. From that point of view, they were necessary and valuable. But it is a debatable point whether they have not, in some cases, done more harm than good. They have certainly added enormously to the crushing burdens of

In the city of Derry we have a public-house to every 232 of the citizens, or one to every forty-eight families. The tragedy of it all is, the poorer the district, the greater the number of public-houses. Many of these public-houses are the most squalid-looking properties in the whole locality. Both by their appearance and the rendezvous they provide for undesirable people, they lower the tone of life in their area, and, in addition, deteriorate the value of adjoining properties, while encumbering and wasting valuable sites which would be of great service to legitimate industry. A short time ago a public-house went out of existence in the centre of Belfast; now a great bank has risen on the site, which is an architectural asset to the city. This will provide much more employment than the public-house displaced, and will do good instead of evil.

Clubs.

Not only have we these 2,965 public-houses as centres for the distribution of drink: we have also in Northern Ireland

71 Registered Clubs,

with a membership of 16,316, and with an expenditure on intoxicating liquor of over £74,000.

These clubs are worse than public-houses as a means of supplying alcohol. They only pay a nominal fee for registration, can purvey liquor at all sorts of unreasonable hours, are not subject to the same police inspection, and carry on their liquor supplying practices behind sealed doors so far as the public are concerned. One of these working-men's clubs, with a membership of less than two hundred, spent over £3,000 during 1928 on intoxicating liquor.

Court Description of Belfast Home.

An item of cost seldom taken into account is the deterioration of the mind and muscle of the worker in the days of child and youth. Here is a picture of one of our Belfast homes, where even the very "dole" goes in drink.

"Sergeant Ormonde stated that early in the morning, on hearing a woman's shouts, he went to ———'s house, where he found him drunk and using abominable language. Accused took his elder daughter on his knee, and was teaching her to repeat that her mother was immoral. He menaced witness with a poker. When witness examined the upstairs accommodation, he found the furniture consisted of an old and dirty mattress with no bedclothes, and a cradle in which the baby was lying with an old coat thrown over it. All the food he discovered in the house was as stated.

"Dole" Money.

"———, accused's wife, said that on Friday he left the house to draw the 'dole,' returning at midnight drunk. He assaulted her, and she was obliged to run out of the house to seek police protection."

In here showing the extent of the drink evil, as well as its disastrous effects on human and commercial well-being, we are not charging working-men or anybody else either with drunkenness or with the inferior workmanship which drunkenness begets; still further are we from seeking to convey the impression that the country is "reeking with drunkenness." Vast sums can be wasted, and in Northern Ireland are indisputably wasted on alcohol by many who may never be drunk in the ordinary sense of the term. They are seldom or never incoherent or unstable in their ways, yet, though not altogether wasting their substance, such people can spend a great deal more on this narcotic poison than is good either for their mind, body, or estate. Those who desire this present ruinous condition of things to continue should, in all fairness, seek for some other way of accomplishing their guilty designs than that of adopting the cunning, unscrupulous device of unjustly accusing the friends of temperance of maligning their fellows or befouling their country.

NEW BANK (MARCH, 1930) ON SITE OF FORMER PUBLIC-HOUSE KNOWN AS "THE GIN PALACE."

Abraham Lincoln, as far back as 1842, said:

"Whether or not the world would be vastly benefited by a total and final banishment from it of all intoxicating drinks, seems to me not now an open question. Three-fourths of mankind confess the affirmative with their tongues, and, I believe, all the rest acknowledge it in their hearts."

Ulster Government's Contribution.

The problem of unemployment in Northern Ireland is not by any means a new one, but the longer it lasts, the country is less and less able to endure it.

On the 26th November, 1923, there were 40,697 persons registered as unemployed in Northern Ireland. And so serious did these figures at the time seem, that the Premier, speaking on 28th November, 1923, is reported in the Press as follows:

Reverse and be Right

Mills and Factories Closed

Public-Houses Open

The Premier's Promise.

"Speaking last night at a great meeting in support of the candidature of Mr. R.J. Lynn, the official Unionist nominee for West Belfast, the Premier, Sir James Craig, made a cheering statement in regard to unemployment in Ulster. All previous efforts to solve the problem, he said, were mere tinkering, and however the election went across the water, **he would solve the unemployment difficulty in Ulster himself if need be.**"

Seven years have come and gone since that "cheering" statement was made by the Premier, and yet the present numbers of unemployed are 53,634, practically 13,000 more than they were on that earlier historic occasion.

In the meanwhile, many things were, of course, done. The Derating Act conferred benefit upon the agricultural community; trade guarantees helped the shipbuilding industry; grants for new houses, construction of new schools and police barracks gave an encouragement to the building trades. But few of the plans tried could be regarded as remedies for unemployment. At best they merely mitigated some of the disastrous results of unemployment. From that point of view, they were necessary and valuable. But it is a debatable point whether they have not, in some cases, done more harm than good. They have certainly added enormously to the crushing burdens of

industry, and all this at a time when industry was, and is, least able to bear them.

Burden of Social Services

Since the war, Britain has been saddled with a taxation of over £800,000,000 per year, or £18. 16s. compared with £11. 18s. per head in U.S.A. The following are the figures of social service burdens as given by Sir Josiah Stamp in his recently broadcasted discussion with Mr. J. M. Keynes.

J. M. K.: Then there is the burden of social services: Have you got any figures about that?

SIR J. S.: That is a very important thing, too. I cannot give them exactly, but they are something like this: In 1911, a representative year before the war, the cost of social services—in a limited sense—was 14s. 6d. per head, whereas in 1928 it was 91s. 6d. But if you take in housing subsidies and education, then it was 32s. per head before the war, and now 150s., nearly five times as much. A good deal of it must be added to the cost of production. You can see that unless there has been a similar rise in other countries in competition with us—however efficient the social services may be—there is a serious handicap.

Rt. Hon. H. M. Pollock's Views.

Speaking at a meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council a short time ago, the Minister of Finance was very severe in regard to the plans which, up till now, had been tried to remedy unemployment. He said:

"The grim shadow of unemployment still hangs heavily over us, although possibly its effects are less evident here than in Britain. All the *artificial nostrums* which have been devised to effect a cure have been *worthless*, and it is now made abundantly clear that *nothing short of an improvement in trade* can provide a remedy."

Mr. Pollock is right, and if seven years ago the Government of Northern Ireland had set itself to study ways and means of increasing the trade of the country, instead of following the line of least resistance by adopting these "worthless . . . artificial nostrums," the trade of the country would to-day be in a sounder and more satisfactory state.

The Only Way.

Trade can be improved in Northern Ireland either by cutting out altogether the parasitic liquor traffic, or so drastically restricting it as to lessen its menace to legitimate industry. Before America achieved prosperity she had to put out of action

843 Distilleries,
1,413 Breweries,
189,600 Public-houses.

Ulster may not be able to change her fiscal policy (that policy being exclusively in the hands of the Imperial Parliament) to safeguard industry from the dumper, **but she can change her policy on the liquor question,** and thus safeguard industry from distilleries, breweries, and public-houses.

It was a great leader of labour who said once: "Every cent spent in drink

ANOTHER IDLE MILL.

was so much taken away from trade, and so much taken away from the worker, who might have a better chance were trade in a better condition. Directly men began to spend money in drink they took away from the butcher, the furniture-maker, the carpenter and builder, and from every form of industry, the legitimate and bona-fide portion of what they should claim from all trades unionists."

Drink Involved in Social Services.

The Rt. Hon. William Graham, M.P., on this subject said recently:

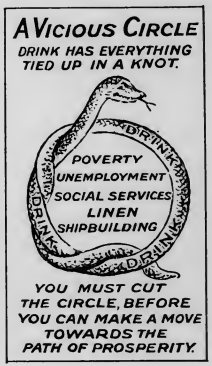
"The whole object of our expenditure must be to secure encouragement of healthy and remunerative employment. The outlay on intoxicants, and the social misery it tends to bring with it, involve at least a substantial part of the expense on the social services in sheer futility; it undermines the value of the State contribution; and in many ways it increases the amount the public has to find. Royal Commissions and other bodies have reported on the urgent importance of afforestation, land drainage, development of electricity, power and transport, housing and slum clearance and other plans. More and more the purely relief element must disappear from the social services, and the constructive and remunerative element take its place. To that end greater temperance among the people, and the abolition of this great block of misdirected expenditure, could make a powerful contribution."

Basic Cause of Unemployment.

Mr. J. A. Hobson, the well-known writer on economics, in an article the other day in the "Manchester Guardian," put the elemental facts about the problem of unemployment in a sentence. "The problem of unemployment," he said, "lies in the simultaneous excess of capital and labour owing to an insufficiency of markets."

Here is the root of all our trouble in Northern Ireland. There is a sufficiency of business capital, there is no shortage of labour, and there is need, deep and dire on all hands, for the necessaries of life that labour and capital can produce. But the pathetic fact in the situation is that *there is not enough money to purchase the goods when they have been produced.* The market is insufficient. The situation, therefore, calls for an increase in the number of our customers, or, as an alternative, a larger amount of money in the hands of the customers we already have.

That being the situation, a number of remedies, not unreasonable in themselves, are suggested.



Rationalisation.

This term stands for a number of internal remedies within industry itself, such as, for example, elimination of all uneconomic units, as well as the cutting out of all waste and inefficiency. No matter what legislative policies are ultimately adopted, the rationalisation of industry should certainly be pursued in the interests of economy and good management. But so far as its application to Northern Ireland is concerned, we must bear in mind that our linen merchants and manufacturers have for some years been compelled to

industry, and all this at a time when industry was, and is, least able to bear them.

Burden of Social Services

Since the war, Britain has been saddled with a taxation of over £800,000,000 per year, or £18. 16s. compared with £11. 18s. per head in U.S.A. The following are the figures of social service burdens as given by Sir Josiah Stamp in his recently broadcasted discussion with Mr. J. M. Keynes.

J. M. K.: Then there is the burden of social services: Have you got any figures about that?

SIR J. S.: That is a very important thing, too. I cannot give them exactly, but they are something like this: In 1911, a representative year before the war, the cost of social services—in a limited sense—was 14s. 6d. per head, whereas in 1928 it was 91s. 6d. But if you take in housing subsidies and education, then it was 32s. per head before the war, and now 150s., nearly five times as much. A good deal of it must be added to the cost of production. You can see that unless there has been a similar rise in other countries in competition with us—however efficient the social services may be—there is a serious handicap.

Rt. Hon. H. M. Pollock's Views.

Speaking at a meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council a short time ago, the Minister of Finance was very severe in regard to the plans which, up till now, had been tried to remedy unemployment. He said:

"The grim shadow of unemployment still hangs heavily over us, although possibly its effects are less evident here than in Britain. All the *artificial nostrums* which have been devised to effect a cure have been *worthless*, and it is now made abundantly clear that *nothing short of an improvement in trade* can provide a remedy."

Mr. Pollock is right, and if seven years ago the Government of Northern Ireland had set itself to study ways and means of increasing the trade of the country, instead of following the line of least resistance by adopting these "worthless . . . artificial nostrums," the trade of the country would to-day be in a sounder and more satisfactory state.

The Only Way.

Trade can be improved in Northern Ireland either by cutting out altogether the parasitic liquor traffic, or so drastically restricting it as to lessen its menace to legitimate industry. Before America achieved prosperity she had to put out of action

843 Distilleries,
1,413 Breweries,
189,600 Public-houses.

Ulster may not be able to change her fiscal policy (that policy being exclusively in the hands of the Imperial Parliament) to safeguard industry from the dumper, **but she can change her policy on the liquor question,** and thus safeguard industry from distilleries, breweries, and public-houses.

It was a great leader of labour who said once: "Every cent spent in drink

ANOTHER IDLE MILL.

was so much taken away from trade, and so much taken away from the worker, who might have a better chance were trade in a better condition. Directly men began to spend money in drink they took away from the butcher, the furniture-maker, the carpenter and builder, and from every form of industry, the legitimate and bona-fide portion of what they should claim from all trades unionists."

Drink Involved in Social Services.

The Rt. Hon. William Graham, M.P., on this subject said recently: "The whole object of our expenditure must be to secure encouragement of healthy and remunerative employment. The outlay on intoxicants, and the social misery it tends to bring with it, involve at least a substantial part of the expense on the social services in sheer futility; it undermines the value of the State contribution; and in many ways it increases the amount the public has to find. Royal Commissions and other bodies have reported on the urgent importance of afforestation, land drainage, development of electricity, power and transport, housing and slum clearance and other plans. More and more the purely relief element must disappear from the social services, and the constructive and remunerative element take its place. To that end greater temperance among the people, and the abolition of this great block of misdirected expenditure, could make a powerful contribution."

Basic Cause of Unemployment.

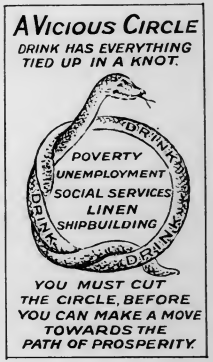
Mr. J. A. Hobson, the well-known writer on economics, in an article the other day in the "Manchester Guardian," put the elemental facts about the problem of unemployment in a sentence. "The problem of unemployment," he said, "lies in the simultaneous excess of capital and labour owing to an insufficiency of markets."

Here is the root of all our trouble in Northern Ireland. There is a sufficiency of business capital, there is no shortage of labour, and there is need, deep and dire on all hands, for the necessaries of life that labour and capital can produce. But the pathetic fact in the situation is that *there is not enough money to purchase the goods when they have been produced.* The market is insufficient. The situation, therefore, calls for an increase in the number of our customers, or, as an alternative, a larger amount of money in the hands of the customers we already have.

That being the situation, a number of remedies, not unreasonable in themselves, are suggested.

Rationalisation.

This term stands for a number of internal remedies within industry itself, such as, for example, elimination of all uneconomic units, as well as the cutting out of all waste and inefficiency. No matter what legislative policies are ultimately adopted, the rationalisation of industry should certainly be pursued in the interests of economy and good management. But so far as its application to Northern Ireland is concerned, we must bear in mind that our linen merchants and manufacturers have for some years been compelled to



do this in order to exist. They have already cut down everything to the bone. It would be foolish, therefore, to build much on the further results likely to accrue from rationalisation.

Protection.

There are many who urge Protection with a view to extending our home market. It is not unreasonable to think that if we could shut out the foreigner, who competes with us for trade in our own home market, a larger market would be available for the sale of our own goods. In a country like ours, where agriculture is such a large factor, and is in such a bad way, it seems economically suicidal to allow the importation of bounty-fed cereals. According to a dispassionate French authority who inspected some of the farms where this grain is grown, it would appear that they are selling here for twenty shillings what cost thirty shillings to produce. But the discouraging fact to be faced by all who urge this remedy is that this is a policy which it is not in the power of our Northern Government to adopt, and that none of the great orthodox parties in England at the moment seem disposed to endorse it as a policy for themselves in any full-blooded sense.

Empire Free Trade.

Some call for "Free Trade" within the Empire. This is a variant of the Protection policy, and a great improvement upon it. It means protection against foreign competition so far as the Empire is concerned, but with "Free Trade" or *freer trade* within the Empire. This policy would commend itself to many Ulster people. It seems to promise an increased market at home, and at the same time a freer and larger market in our Colonies. The unfortunate and apparently insuperable difficulty in the way of our adopting this policy is that our Colonies are definitely opposed to it. As Mr. Baldwin says, the Colonies themselves are building up industries behind tariff walls, and have no seeming intention of abandoning or lowering these to suit other nations, not even the mother country.

Reduction of Wages.

There are others who suggest, with as much caution as they can command, a reduction of wages, with a view to a reduction in costs, so as to secure a larger market abroad. Those who put forward this unpopular policy have always had a good deal to say for themselves. Our traders are competing in the world market with the traders of other countries where the cost of production is less than it is with us. It would seem that if we are to get a larger share of that market, or if we are even to retain our place in it, the cost of production must be reduced, and the most obvious way of doing so is to reduce wages. One objection to this course is that it means a reduction of the standard of living in this country, and many of us think the

NOT WORKING.

standard of living is low enough. But there are other objections. There is the objection that wages are already so low that the home market is considerably crippled thereby, and that any further lowering of wages will tend more and more to lessen the people's purchasing power, and still further to cripple and restrict the home market. Besides, wages costs are not the final determining factor in an industry's power to compete successfully with similar industries in another country.

Real wages are the only fair standard of comparison. They are the moneys paid for services, having regard to the cost of living in the wage-earners' place of abode. For example, the amount of money paid to workers in the United States may be three or four times the amount paid to the same grade in Northern Ireland, but then, many of the commodities which the wage-earner has to purchase are also dearer. Yet when all these higher prices are considered, the real wage of workers in U.S.A. is about 190, compared to Britain's 100, which means that real wages in America are practically twice as much as at home among ourselves. Nevertheless, although America pays these higher real wages, she is successfully competing with us for the world's markets.

Minute Costs.

The reason for all this is to be found in a very interesting speech which Sir Percival Percy made to the shareholders of Ford Motor Company, Ltd., on 7th March, 1930, when speaking in regard to the firm's system of comparing "minute costs" in their respective factories all over the world. "Minute costs" represent the time taken to do a given job with the same tools in the various factories. Thus in Denmark, where the highest rate of wages is paid, the company discovered the minute costs were lowest, whereas in Belgium, where the wages scale was lowest, the highest minute costs were

recorded. In Antwerp, to maintain a standard of wages, a substantial increase in the minimum wages had to be made, and the immediate result was a decrease in the minute costs. Another interesting disclosure was that, given like conditions, the British, Irish, or Continental artisan actually beat the American worker.

So long, therefore, as the relationship between wages cost and production is satisfactory, industry will, other things being equal, be able to hold its own. And in America, as we have seen, the increasing of wages is favoured rather than the lessening, for two reasons—first, because higher wages

do this in order to exist. They have already cut down everything to the bone. It would be foolish, therefore, to build much on the further results likely to accrue from rationalisation.

Protection.

There are many who urge Protection with a view to extending our home market. It is not unreasonable to think that if we could shut out the foreigner, who competes with us for trade in our own home market, a larger market would be available for the sale of our own goods. In a country like ours, where agriculture is such a large factor, and is in such a bad way, it seems economically suicidal to allow the importation of bounty-fed cereals. According to a dispassionate French authority who inspected some of the farms where this grain is grown, it would appear that they are selling here for twenty shillings what cost thirty shillings to produce. But the discouraging fact to be faced by all who urge this remedy is that this is a policy which it is not in the power of our Northern Government to adopt, and that none of the great orthodox parties in England at the moment seem disposed to endorse it as a policy for themselves in any full-blooded sense.

Empire Free Trade.

Some call for "Free Trade" within the Empire. This is a variant of the Protection policy, and a great improvement upon it. It means protection against foreign competition so far as the Empire is concerned, but with "Free Trade" or *freer trade* within the Empire. This policy would commend itself to many Ulster people. It seems to promise an increased market at home, and at the same time a freer and larger market in our Colonies. The unfortunate and apparently insuperable difficulty in the way of our adopting this policy is that our Colonies are definitely opposed to it. As Mr. Baldwin says, the Colonies themselves are building up industries behind tariff walls, and have no seeming intention of abandoning or lowering these to suit other nations, not even the mother country.

Reduction of Wages.

There are others who suggest, with as much caution as they can command, a reduction of wages, with a view to a reduction in costs, so as to secure a larger market abroad. Those who put forward this unpopular policy have always had a good deal to say for themselves. Our traders are competing in the world market with the traders of other countries where the cost of production is less than it is with us. It would seem that if we are to get a larger share of that market, or if we are even to retain our place in it, the cost of production must be reduced, and the most obvious way of doing so is to reduce wages. One objection to this course is that it means a reduction of the standard of living in this country, and many of us think the

NOT WORKING.

standard of living is low enough. But there are other objections. There is the objection that wages are already so low that the home market is considerably crippled thereby, and that any further lowering of wages will tend more and more to lessen the people's purchasing power, and still further to cripple and restrict the home market. Besides, wages costs are not the final determining factor in an industry's power to compete successfully with similar industries in another country.

Real wages are the only fair standard of comparison. They are the moneys paid for services, having regard to the cost of living in the wage-earners' place of abode. For example, the amount of money paid to workers in the United States may be three or four times the amount paid to the same grade in Northern Ireland, but then, many of the commodities which the wage-earner has to purchase are also dearer. Yet when all these higher prices are considered, the real wage of workers in U.S.A. is about 190, compared to Britain's 100, which means that real wages in America are practically twice as much as at home among ourselves. Nevertheless, although America pays these higher real wages, she is successfully competing with us for the world's markets.

Minute Costs.

The reason for all this is to be found in a very interesting speech which Sir Percival Percy made to the shareholders of Ford Motor Company, Ltd., on 7th March, 1930, when speaking in regard to the firm's system of comparing "minute costs" in their respective factories all over the world. "Minute costs" represent the time taken to do a given job with the same tools in the various factories. Thus in Denmark, where the highest rate of wages is paid, the company discovered the minute costs were lowest, whereas in Belgium, where the wages scale was lowest, the highest minute costs were recorded. In Antwerp, to maintain a standard of wages, a substantial increase in the minimum wages had to be made, and the immediate result was a decrease in the minute costs. Another interesting disclosure was that, given like conditions, the British, Irish, or Continental artisan actually beat the American worker.

So long, therefore, as the relationship between wages cost and production is satisfactory, industry will, other things being equal, be able to hold its own. And in America, as we have seen, the increasing of wages is favoured rather than the lessening, for two reasons—first, because higher wages

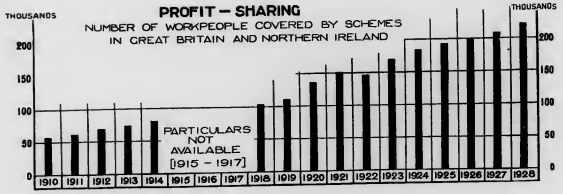
encourage workers to increase production; and, secondly, because higher wages increase the workers' purchasing power, and thereby increase their own home market.

Raise Standard in Backward Countries.

It will not be irrelevant if, at this point, we suggest that so far as our foreign trade is concerned, a happy alternative to reducing wages at home would be to *raise the standard of life in the more backward countries* at present competing unfairly with us. This may seem an idealistic and remote remedy for our present troubles, and it cannot be denied that it is both idealistic and remote. That is its weakness as a solution for the problem of unemployment to-day. At the same time, there is reason to think, so far as our prosperity is hampered by competition with the sweated labour of backward countries, such an idealist consideration is the only consideration which will prove finally satisfactory. All that is being done, either by the missionaries of the Christian Church, or by the International Labour Organization, to raise the standard of life in less civilized countries, is indirectly helping to secure the maintenance of our own standard of life by enabling our workers to compete on fair terms with the industrialists of other lands.

Distribution of Profits.

Finally, it is said by men who are socialistically inclined that the only remedy for unemployment, so far as it is periodic, is a *more equitable distribution of the profits* of labour. The theory is that too much capital is invested in industries for the production of "capital goods" and luxury goods, and that the market for these is speedily and periodically glutted, with the results that there are periods of trade depression and unemployment. More purchasing power in the hands of employees, it is said, would mean an expansion of the industries supplying immediately consumable goods, and the demand for these would not be cyclical, but constant.


PROFIT – SHARING
NUMBER OF WORKPEOPLE COVERED BY SCHEMES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND
THOUSANDS
200
150
100
50
0
PARTICULARS NOT AVAILABLE [1915 – 1917]
1910 1911 1912 1913 1914 1915 1916 1917 1918 1919 1920 1921 1922 1923 1924 1925 1926 1927 1928

We have no desire to enter into the merits of this particular theory. It may be good, or it may be bad. What is evident about it is, that, as a remedy for unemployment, it only professes to deal with the fraction of the problem that is periodic. But this country, and Northern Ireland in particular, seems to have reached a point in its industrial development where it is saddled, not with periodic spells of unemployment, but with a large and constant quota of unemployed. For this sad state of affairs the remedies so far suggested by those in authority have been either impracticable or far too remote.

The Remedy.

There is, however, a remedy that is neither impracticable nor remote; and, in view of all the facts, it is amazing that this remedy, though recommended by leading economists and men of business, has not long ago received legislative recognition by those Government leaders who are wrestling with chronic depression in trade. What is wanted, as J. A. Hobson has pointed out, is a larger market for the produce of our labour-employing industries. Mr. J. M. Keynes, in his discussion with Sir Josiah Stamp on the subject of unemployment, said: "Personally, I very much doubt, whatever we do, if we can revive our export industries to their old relative importance. Low wages and high tariffs abroad, keenness of international competition, are too much for us. If that is so, then there is no way of reviving employment, except by increasing our investments at home."

This is Belfast

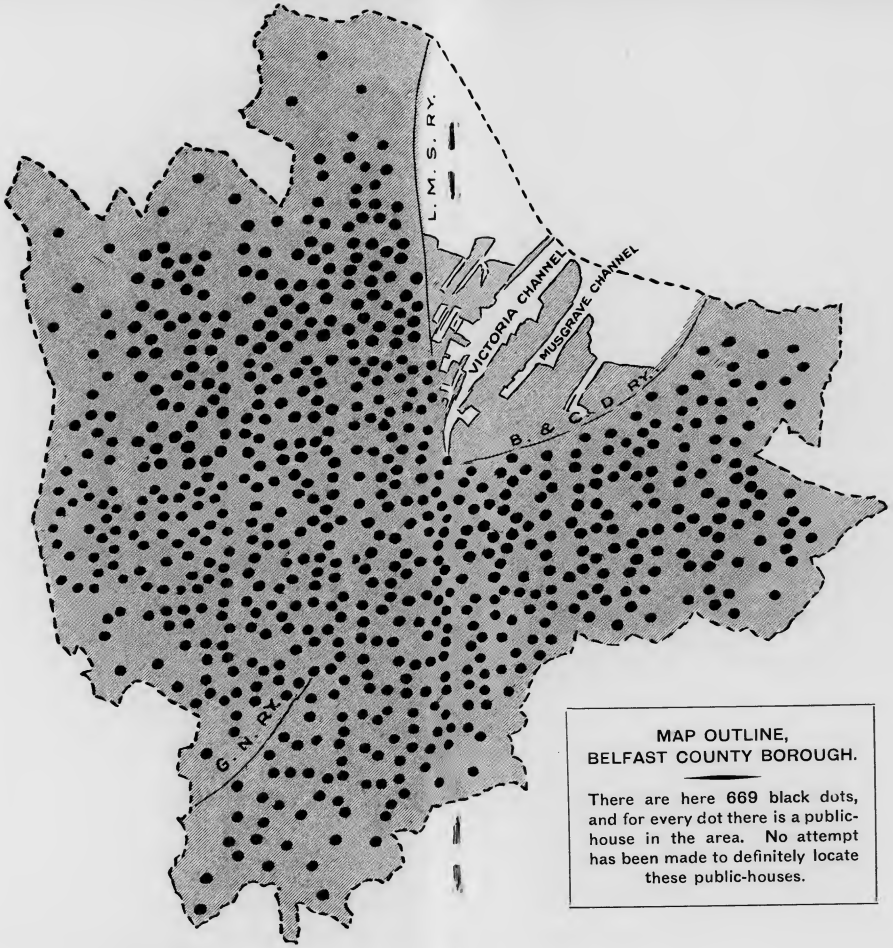
Too poor even to license Dogs

Queue of 800 helped financially with dog licences, 29/3/1930.

What could be more feasible, in these circumstances, than to discourage, as far as possible, the expenditure of £4,000,000 of our annual income on a luxury, the manufacture of which provides little or no labour. These £4,000,000, together with the indirect costs which the existence of the drink evil imposes upon the country, would immediately expand by that amount the market available for the produce of our industries that do provide employment. It would become £7,000,000 more purchasing power in the hands of our people, and in response to their redirected economic demands, many of our present industries would expand and new industries would be launched. Nor would the benefit cease there. Many of our working-class homes, freed from the incubus of the drink evil, would soon be animated with ambitions for a standard of life of which they had never before dreamed. There would be a cumulative and improved demand for all that honest industry could supply.

Sir Josiah Stamp.

Sir Josiah Stamp, in his evidence before the Royal Licensing Commission, recently stressed four economic effects which would follow a general discontinuance of alcoholic beverages. "First-line effects" would be changes in employment and production. The witness provided a new basis of the extent to which employment would be increased if the huge sum now spent in the purchase of liquor (as distinct from the sum accruing to the National Exchequer as liquor taxation) were transferred either to savings or to the purchase of other commodities, and estimated that the probable gain in employment value would be about twelve per cent. "Second-line effects" would be changes in output due to increased industrial efficiency, fewer accidents, less absenteeism from work. The witness quoted with approval Dr. Vernon's findings that "it seems probable that taking industry all through, the total reduction in efficiency created by the consumption of alcohol is something like ten per cent." "Third-line effects" were instanced as the lessening of crime and disease, and the lengthening of life. Sir Josiah Stamp estimated that the "social cost" of crime, disease, and poverty attributable to alcoholic indulgence is



MAP OUTLINE,
BELFAST COUNTY BOROUGH.

There are here 669 black dots, and for every dot there is a public-house in the area. No attempt has been made to definitely locate these public-houses.

probably not less than from twenty-five to fifty millions sterling—a figure which does not include voluntary contributions in charity. "Fourth-line effects" would be the important influence of sobriety on character, morals, happiness, and family life.

Facts That Confirm.

We would be less confident in urging this remedy were it not that this policy is already in operation elsewhere and is working wonders. Here is a

Proof from America.

A leading American writer, Samuel Crowther, recently contributed an article dealing with this subject. This article has been claimed as the most important contribution that has yet been made to the discussion of Prohibition. It has nothing to do with the morals of drink; it has nothing to do with night-clubs or lawlessness or the bootlegging racket. It has to do solely with the effect of Prohibition on the prosperity of America. Here are some of the things said :

"Let us consider the state of a nation which, in a decade, has come into a glory transcending that which any prophet has foretold. It is a new kind of glory, having nothing to do with glittering chariots, or shining armour, or purple robes, or trumpeting heralds. It is a glory of the many and not of the few, and it principally concerns those who once were known as the common people, and their wages, manner of living, automobiles, electric apparatus, savings accounts, and other such lowly and material affairs. The glory is somewhat as of conquest, but of a new kind of conquest, for the vanquished thing has been intangible—and yet very real.

"The foe has been the world's oldest and best established institution—poverty.

"The country has developed surely and rapidly to entirely new conceptions of wealth and standards of living. Those who were considered very rich in the old 'Four Hundred' days would to-day be held as only pretty well fixed."

A Great Economic Experiment.

"The production of the country has increased within ten years by between twenty-five and thirty per cent. instead of at the normal rate of about fifteen per cent. We have had a clear gain of between ten and fifteen per cent. The margin between 'bad times' and 'good times' is rarely as much as fifteen per cent.; when in the past we went down fifteen per cent., we were flat on our backs and the bread lines were everywhere.

"In ten years we have not only increased by more than the margin between good and bad times, but have added another fifteen per cent. It is in this extra percentage that we find the cause of our abundant prosperity.

"It (i.e., Prohibition) sought to throw a dam across that part of the river of purchasing power which formerly flowed uselessly for liquor, and to route the stream through turbines which might usefully turn to create wealth.

"The dam to-day is built, and the money which formerly went for drink is the motive power of our prosperity. I have examined, one by one, the other possible causes, and have been forced to eliminate them. I have gone into the positive evidence of the bearing of Prohibition upon prosperity. The facts are inescapable.

PARKING YARD, JEFFREY MFG. CO., COLUMBUS, OHIO. WORKMEN'S CARS WAITING FOR THEIR OWNERS.

"Prohibition is an economic success.

"This success is particularly notable because it has come during a period when, by all the usual tests, we should have business depression. We have had the burden of war, but we have borne it lightly once we began to recover from the post-war depression.

"It is absurd to trace any of our prosperity to the war; one does not gain wealth by squandering it. That is shown by the progress of the rest of the world since the war—or rather, by its lack of progress. The economic structure of the world collapsed between 1920 and 1922. We pulled out quickly, but other nations have been pulling out very slowly. With our resources we should have pulled out rather more quickly than the others, but resources alone will not explain the speed of our recovery. We had the same resources before the war."

This bears out Sir Josiah Stamp's estimate that if alcohol were done away with in Britain we would have in a generation a new asset of

ONE THOUSAND MILLIONS.

Prohibition Remedy Enriches Finland.

A special correspondent of the "London Times," in an article in that paper on Finland, written in October, 1929, begins his article with the significant statement :

"Among the countries that owe their independent existence to the war, Finland holds an enviable and unique position. She leaves on the traveller an impression of solid well-being and social stability, of order and cleanliness, for which 'Scandinavian' is the obvious epithet."

Farther on in the same article, he says :

"Finnish business men show no lack of confidence in their future. It is a great deal to be able to boast that the first ten years of independence have been accompanied by steady expansion, and that there has been

SCARCELY ANY UNEMPLOYMENT

or serious labour conflict."

Surely one might be pardoned for thinking that there may be some connection between this unique position of Finland, and the fact that Finland alone amongst the countries of Europe has adopted Prohibition.

National Wealth Greater Than Ever Before.

It is estimated that agricultural production in Finland is now about fifty per cent. greater than prior to the Great War. Industrial production amounted in pre-war years to about seven billion five hundred million present Finmarks (one dollar is equal to forty Finmarks). In 1927 it was eleven billion three hundred million marks.

Before the war (in 1913), deposits amounting to about four hundred and seventy million present Finmarks were made in banking institutions. In 1927 there were one billion seven hundred million marks. Noticeable in this has been the increase in the savings of the poorer class of the population. A director of the Bank of Finland, Mr. Lauri af Heurlin, said in October, 1928 :

Mr. Ford says :

"Our present industrial system simply cannot work with liquor.

"We must choose between drink and poverty on the one hand and Prohibition and prosperity on the other. There is no middle ground."

probably not less than from twenty-five to fifty millions sterling—a figure which does not include voluntary contributions in charity. "Fourth-line effects" would be the important influence of sobriety on character, morals, happiness, and family life.

Facts That Confirm.

We would be less confident in urging this remedy were it not that this policy is already in operation elsewhere and is working wonders. Here is a

Proof from America.

A leading American writer, Samuel Crowther, recently contributed an article dealing with this subject. This article has been claimed as the most important contribution that has yet been made to the discussion of Prohibition. It has nothing to do with the morals of drink; it has nothing to do with night-clubs or lawlessness or the bootlegging racket. It has to do solely with the effect of Prohibition on the prosperity of America. Here are some of the things said:

"Let us consider the state of a nation which, in a decade, has come into a glory transcending that which any prophet has foretold. It is a new kind of glory, having nothing to do with glittering chariots, or shining armour, or purple robes, or trumpeting heralds. It is a glory of the many and not of the few, and it principally concerns those who once were known as the common people, and their wages, manner of living, automobiles, electric apparatus, savings accounts, and other such lowly and material affairs. The glory is somewhat as of conquest, but of a new kind of conquest, for the vanquished thing has been intangible—and yet very real.

"The foe has been the world's oldest and best established institution—poverty.

"The country has developed surely and rapidly to entirely new conceptions of wealth and standards of living. Those who were considered very rich in the old 'Four Hundred' days would to-day be held as only pretty well fixed."

A Great Economic Experiment.

"The production of the country has increased within ten years by between twenty-five and thirty per cent. instead of at the normal rate of about fifteen per cent. We have had a clear gain of between ten and fifteen per cent. The margin between 'bad times' and 'good times' is rarely as much as fifteen per cent.; when in the past we went down fifteen per cent., we were flat on our backs and the bread lines were everywhere.

"In ten years we have not only increased by more than the margin between good and bad times, but have added another fifteen per cent. It is in this extra percentage that we find the cause of our abundant prosperity.

"It (i.e., Prohibition) sought to throw a dam across that part of the river of purchasing power which formerly flowed uselessly for liquor, and to route the stream through turbines which might usefully turn to create wealth.

"The dam to-day is built, and the money which formerly went for drink is the motive power of our prosperity. I have examined, one by one, the other possible causes, and have been forced to eliminate them. I have gone into the positive evidence of the bearing of Prohibition upon prosperity. The facts are inescapable.

PARKING YARD, JEFFREY MFG. CO., COLUMBUS, OHIO. WORKMEN'S CARS WAITING FOR THEIR OWNERS.

"Prohibition is an economic success.

"This success is particularly notable because it has come during a period when, by all the usual tests, we should have business depression. We have had the burden of war, but we have borne it lightly once we began to recover from the post-war depression.

"It is absurd to trace any of our prosperity to the war; one does not gain wealth by squandering it. That is shown by the progress of the rest of the world since the war—or rather, by its lack of progress. The economic structure of the world collapsed between 1920 and 1922. We pulled out quickly, but other nations have been pulling out very slowly. With our resources we should have pulled out rather more quickly than the others, but resources alone will not explain the speed of our recovery. We had the same resources before the war."

This bears out Sir Josiah Stamp's estimate that if alcohol were done away with in Britain we would have in a generation a new asset of

ONE THOUSAND MILLIONS.

Prohibition Remedy Enriches Finland.

A special correspondent of the "London Times," in an article in that paper on Finland, written in October, 1929, begins his article with the significant statement:

"Among the countries that owe their independent existence to the war, Finland holds an enviable and unique position. She leaves on the traveller an impression of solid well-being and social stability, of order and cleanliness, for which 'Scandinavian' is the obvious epithet."

Farther on in the same article, he says:

"Finnish business men show no lack of confidence in their future. It is a great deal to be able to boast that the first ten years of independence have been accompanied by steady expansion, and that there has been

SCARCELY ANY UNEMPLOYMENT

or serious labour conflict."

Surely one might be pardoned for thinking that there may be some connection between this unique position of Finland, and the fact that Finland alone amongst the countries of Europe has adopted Prohibition.

National Wealth Greater Than Ever Before.

It is estimated that agricultural production in Finland is now about fifty per cent. greater than prior to the Great War. Industrial production amounted in pre-war years to about seven billion five hundred million present Finmarks (one dollar is equal to forty Finmarks). In 1927 it was eleven billion three hundred million marks.

Before the war (in 1913), deposits amounting to about four hundred and seventy million present Finmarks were made in banking institutions. In 1927 there were one billion seven hundred million marks. Noticeable in this has been the increase in the savings of the poorer class of the population. A director of the Bank of Finland, Mr. Lauri af Heurlin, said in October, 1928:

Mr. Ford says:

"Our present industrial system simply cannot work with liquor.

"We must choose between drink and poverty on the one hand and Prohibition and prosperity on the other. There is no middle ground."

"One cannot but make the observation that the capacity of our labouring classes for saving and the desire to do so have increased appreciably during the past ten years, along with which their standard of living has simultaneously advanced. One sign of this is that the working people have in the last years invested many hundreds of millions of marks in dwelling-house apartments of their own. Each one may seek for this phenomenon the explanation he may wish, but my conviction is that it is for the most part to be placed to the account of the prohibition of intoxicating liquors."

Prohibition Stimulates Industry.

As examples of the way in which temperance legislation stimulates labour-employing industries, and so reduces unemployment, we quote a statement made by our fellow-citizen, Mr. James Mackie, when he returned from a visit to America in 1920. The newspaper report says :

"Asked his opinion on the effect of the Prohibition laws, he was very emphatic and decisive. He expressed himself delighted with the results of the 'dry' policy. The gratifying effects of total restriction were to be seen at every turn, by the appearance of the children in the streets, and in the general comfort of the citizens. One had only to hear from the bootmakers of the increased sale of children's boots to know what Prohibition had meant to the children."

One has only to reflect for a moment on the reaction of that state of things on industry to realize what it meant to the boot manufacturers and their employees. Money saved on liquor, the manufacture of which gives little or no labour, will inevitably stimulate better industries that employ a large amount of labour, and that pay a large amount of wages.

Remedy in Scotland.

A statement made on 17th February last by Provost John Duchart, of the dry town of Wick, before the Scottish Licensing Commission, bears an impressive testimony to the same facts. He is reported to have stated in his evidence that

"Even with continuous bad fishings the savings of the people had markedly increased. The condition of the children was very much better in every way under No-Licence. Teachers pointed to the improved standards of clothing and feeding and improved health and ability to benefit by their attendance at school."

He said we can discern the same sequence of economic facts, savings on drink, more and better clothing and food, increased industry, more employment, and more wages. Even if temperance legislation brought no moral consequences in its train, it would still be worth promoting, if only for the sake of its economic results.

Ireland's Only Prosperous City.

Cork, according to a report in the daily press (16th April, 1930), is the only Irish city where there is prosperity and no lack of employment. It is all due to the presence therein of Ford's giant industry, which employs 7,000 operatives, and circulates £30,000 per week in wages. Henry Ford, its owner, is the world's greatest industrialist, and, not surprisingly, its greatest prohibitionist. His Cork plant, like all his other establishments, is run on prohibition capital, and on prohibition lines. "The wages paid are far above the current rates. But we do not pay these wages," says Ford, "to men who drink." There is, therefore, no explaining away of Cork's prosperity. Because of the distance, liquor interests may try to bamboozle the public in regard to what prohibition does for the United States, and for Finland, but it cannot just as easily explain away the object lesson of Cork. If Cork is as prosperous as the press reports indicate because of its adoption of one prohibition factor, what would it be if the whole territory were alike?

European Legislative Control.

NORWAY.—In the rural districts the sale of spirits is still entirely prohibited; it is allowed only in towns of not less than four thousand inhabitants, and in these towns a popular vote, both of men and women, may be taken every six years on the suppression or continuance of the spirits traffic. Only eighteen Norwegian towns out of a total of sixty have now the sale of spirits, and the right of sale is confined to disinterested companies, according to the so-called Gothenburg system.

SWEDEN.—The on-sale of spirits is regulated by the Gothenburg system, that is, the licence is granted only to disinterested companies which do not seek to make profits but to preserve sobriety. All profits realized have to be handed over to the State, and not, as formerly, to the town administrations. Part of this sum is paid into a fund to enable the Swedish State to overcome the economic difficulties which might ensue should Prohibition or further restriction ever be introduced in the country.

For about ten years the sale of spirits for off-consumption has been regulated by the so-called Stockholm or Bratt system (the founder of the system was Dr. Bratt, who until last year superintended its execution). By this system, spirits are sold only to the holders of permits in the form of booklets, which are delivered only to persons of sober reputation, and the quantity that can be purchased monthly is strictly limited. Holders must be over 21 years of age; in some districts the age limit for men and women is 25.

One very interesting feature of the temperance situation in Sweden is the great care which is given to a sound organization of temperance teaching. The State makes considerable yearly grants for this purpose.

DENMARK.—Since 1925 Denmark has local option, which has been widely applied, especially in the continental part of the country. In some districts the on-sale of spirits has been entirely prohibited in eighty-five per cent. of the parishes. The towns have the right to introduce disinterested management, but so far have not done so. A Bill will shortly be discussed in Parliament which adds to local option district option, and even foresees the possibility of a general Prohibition law.

ICELAND.—Though nominally united to Denmark, Iceland is really independent. In the year 1915, full Prohibition was introduced into the island by popular vote. But, threatened with reprisals by Spain, her principal customer for her main export, dried fish, Iceland was compelled to abrogate her Prohibition law; that is, spirits are still prohibited, but wine may be admitted under control.

FINLAND.—Full prohibition of alcoholic beverages, with the exception of weak beer of less than two per cent. alcohol content, was introduced in Finland in 1919.

ESTHONIA.—In the independent state of Esthonia local option was voted by Parliament two years ago, coming into force this year, 1929, and it is announced that already two country localities have availed themselves of their right. Esthonia had for some years a kind of Gothenburg system, called there "check system," which does not seem to have been successful.

LATVIA.—An alcohol monopoly has been introduced in Latvia, and

several fairly severe measures to reduce the sale. For instance, no alcohol may be sold from Saturday afternoon till Monday morning; public-houses are closed on election and recruiting days, etc. The parishes have also some rights of local option.

LITHUANIA.—Local option is in force in Lithuania, but there are no indications as to what extent the parishes avail themselves of it.

POLAND.—An alcohol monopoly of a fiscal character has been introduced in Poland, but one-hundredth part of the profits has to be devoted to the fight against alcoholism. The Polish Parliament has also introduced a local option law, which allows even whole districts to suppress the sale of alcoholic beverage. No wine or spirits may be sold in railway dining-cars or refreshment rooms.

PROUD TITLES

AMERICA

"Land of Hope"

"Land of Opportunity"

RUSSIA.—The spread of alcoholism alarmed both public opinion and the Government, which introduced in 1927 a local option law. Some local communities are beginning to avail themselves of this right, owing quite especially to the exertions of a new Russian anti-alcoholic society, which has sections in all important localities. The Government budget for the next five years foresees the gradual reduction of the receipts from the alcohol monopoly.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—Prohibition was introduced for a time in Slovakia, but the law was never seriously enforced. Public-houses have to be closed on election days, a measure bitterly resented by the liquor traffic, and last year Parliament decided to abrogate the interdiction. President Mazaryk, however, who is a life-long friend of the temperance movement, opposed his veto to this proposal.

The Czecho-Slovakian Parliament adopted, some years ago, a law for the protection of the child against alcohol, forbidding the sale to young people under 18 years of age.

ROUMANIA.—The liquor legislation of Roumania is in course of revision. The Bill provides for the gradual suppression of spirits distilled from cereals; as for spirits made from fruits, plums especially, the Bill provides for the State encouragement of the preparation of non-alcoholic fruit products, so that gradually this form of distilled liquor will disappear. Measures are also foreseen for the reduction of the number of public-houses, and the population will have some rights of local option. A new law provides that publicans are not allowed to participate in the town meetings which conduct the affairs of villages with less than six hundred inhabitants.

BULGARIA.—The Bulgarian Parliament adopted last year (1929) a local option law, which is included in the law for the protection of public health. This same law provides for the creation of a special office for the fight against alcoholism: it will be the special duty of the director of this office and his assistants to intensify the educative campaign against alcoholism.

YUGO-SLAVIA.—Some measures have been taken, especially the prohibition of the sale of alcohol from Saturday afternoon to Monday morning, but they have been partly abrogated owing to the representations of the liquor traffic. The Government now

in power aims at a more radical fight against alcoholism, and several Bills are now in preparation.

ITALY.—The Italian law of 1913 foresees the reduction of the number of public-houses. The proportion of one for five hundred inhabitants, established in 1913, has been extended by M. Mussolini, himself a water drinker, to one for one thousand. Thus in five years 27,000 public-houses have disappeared from Italy. The sale of spirits is also forbidden in the early hours of the morning and late at night. The Italian law for the protection of the mother and child prohibits the giving of any alcoholic beverages to children educated in the State establishments. This must be considered as a great advantage, for wine is included in the prohibition, and in other European wine-growing countries wine is freely given, even to young children.

AUSTRIA.—The Austrian Parliament adopted, some years ago, a law for the protection of the child against alcoholism, similar to that passed in Czecho-Slovakia. There is a popular movement in favour of stronger measures, and a petition in favour of local option is now in circulation and will shortly be submitted to Parliament.

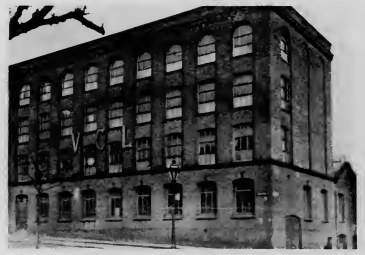
SWITZERLAND. — Each Swiss canton has its own licensing law, which contains a general provision that the number of public-houses must not exceed the needs of the population.

GERMANY.—The situation in Germany at present is not clear. Some years ago the German Government submitted to the Reichstag a new licensing law, but the interests concerned are so opposed that the discussion of the Bill makes no progress.

HOLLAND.—The present Dutch licensing law reduced the number of public-houses to a certain proportion with regard to the population. The proportion varies according to the size of the locality. This law has greatly reduced the number of public-houses in Holland.

BELGIUM.—In 1919 Belgium introduced a law prohibiting the sale of spirits in public-houses. It is generally acknowledged that the law, in spite of some enforcement difficulties, has greatly reduced the consumption of spirits in Belgium.

FRANCE.—France is the centre of the international movement against any serious fight against alcoholism. She is the seat of the International League against Prohibition and the International Committee of wine and spirits. Paris is also the seat of the International Wine Office, to which more than ten Governments have given their adhesion, and which, according to the articles of its constitution, aims at the propagation of wine-drinking throughout the world. It professes indeed to work against alcoholism, alleging that an increased consumption of wine is the surest means of combating this evil.



NOT WORKING.

several fairly severe measures to reduce the sale. For instance, no alcohol may be sold from Saturday afternoon till Monday morning; public-houses are closed on election and recruiting days, etc. The parishes have also some rights of local option.

LITHUANIA.—Local option is in force in Lithuania, but there are no indications as to what extent the parishes avail themselves of it.

PROUD TITLES

AMERICA

"Land of Hope"

"Land of Opportunity"

POLAND.—An alcohol monopoly of a fiscal character has been introduced in Poland, but one-hundredth part of the profits has to be devoted to the fight against alcoholism. The Polish Parliament has also introduced a local option law, which allows even whole districts to suppress the sale of alcoholic beverage. No wine or spirits may be sold in railway dining-cars or refreshment rooms.

RUSSIA.—The spread of alcoholism alarmed both public opinion and the Government, which introduced in 1927 a local option law. Some local communities are beginning to avail themselves of this right, owing quite especially to the exertions of a new Russian anti-alcoholic society, which has sections in all important localities. The Government budget for the next five years foresees the gradual reduction of the receipts from the alcohol monopoly.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—Prohibition was introduced for a time in Slovakia, but the law was never seriously enforced. Public-houses have to be closed on election days, a measure bitterly resented by the liquor traffic, and last year Parliament decided to abrogate the interdiction. President Mazaryk, however, who is a life-long friend of the temperance movement, opposed his veto to this proposal.

The Czecho-Slovakian Parliament adopted, some years ago, a law for the protection of the child against alcohol, forbidding the sale to young people under 18 years of age.

ROUMANIA.—The liquor legislation of Roumania is in course of revision. The Bill provides for the gradual suppression of spirits distilled from cereals; as for spirits made from fruits, plums especially, the Bill provides for the State encouragement of the preparation of non-alcoholic fruit products, so that gradually this form of distilled liquor will disappear. Measures are also foreseen for the reduction of the number of public-houses, and the population will have some rights of local option. A new law provides that publicans are not allowed to participate in the town meetings which conduct the affairs of villages with less than six hundred inhabitants.

BULGARIA.—The Bulgarian Parliament adopted last year (1929) a local option law, which is included in the law for the protection of public health. This same law provides for the creation of a special office for the fight against alcoholism: it will be the special duty of the director of this office and his assistants to intensify the educative campaign against alcoholism.

YUGO-SLAVIA.—Some measures have been taken, especially the prohibition of the sale of alcohol from Saturday afternoon to Monday morning, but they have been partly abrogated owing to the representations of the liquor traffic. The Government now

in power aims at a more radical fight against alcoholism, and several Bills are now in preparation.

ITALY.—The Italian law of 1913 foresees the reduction of the number of public-houses. The proportion of one for five hundred inhabitants, established in 1913, has been extended by M. Mussolini, himself a water drinker, to one for one thousand. Thus in five years 27,000 public-houses have disappeared from Italy. The sale of spirits is also forbidden in the early hours of the morning and late at night. The Italian law for the protection of the mother and child prohibits the giving of any alcoholic beverages to children educated in the State establishments. This must be considered as a great advantage, for wine is included in the prohibition, and in other European wine-growing countries wine is freely given, even to young children.

AUSTRIA.—The Austrian Parliament adopted, some years ago, a law for the protection of the child against alcoholism, similar to that passed in Czecho-Slovakia. There is a popular movement in favour of stronger measures, and a petition in favour of local option is now in circulation and will shortly be submitted to Parliament.

SWITZERLAND. — Each Swiss canton has its own licensing law, which contains a general provision that the number of public-houses must not exceed the needs of the population.

GERMANY.—The situation in Germany at present is not clear. Some years ago the German Government submitted to the Reichstag a new licensing law, but the interests concerned are so opposed that the discussion of the Bill makes no progress.

HOLLAND.—The present Dutch licensing law reduced the number of public-houses to a certain proportion with regard to the population. The proportion varies according to the size of the locality. This law has greatly reduced the number of public-houses in Holland.

BELGIUM.—In 1919 Belgium introduced a law prohibiting the sale of spirits in public-houses. It is generally acknowledged that the law, in spite of some enforcement difficulties, has greatly reduced the consumption of spirits in Belgium.

FRANCE.—France is the centre of the international movement against any serious fight against alcoholism. She is the seat of the International League against Prohibition and the International Committee of wine and spirits. Paris is also the seat of the International Wine Office, to which more than ten Governments have given their adhesion, and which, according to the articles of its constitution, aims at the propagation of wine-drinking throughout the world. It professes indeed to work against alcoholism, alleging that an increased consumption of wine is the surest means of combating this evil.

NOT WORKING.

Non-European Reforms.

INDIA.—In September, 1925, the Imperial Legislative Assembly, representing the whole of India, passed a resolution by sixty-nine to thirty-nine, calling upon the Government to accept Prohibition as its ultimate policy, and to inaugurate as a first step a system of local option.

CEYLON.—Local option is in force. Many polls have taken place, the great majority resulting in taverns being closed. Licences have been reduced since 1918 from 2,138 to 1,032—a reduction of one-half in ten years.

SOUTH AFRICA.—A private local option Bill, in 1924, was only defeated by two votes.

CENTRAL AFRICA.—Territories where alcohol has not been introduced are to remain under Prohibition.

EGYPT.—There is a Parliamentary group which has included Prohibition in its political programme.

JAPAN.—At the first general election (1st June, 1928) under universal suffrage, no less than eighty-seven members were elected pledged to raise the age from 21 to 25 for the right to purchase alcoholic beverages.

AUSTRALIA.—All States have local option laws which vary in different areas. Public houses are generally closed at 6 o'clock each evening.

NEW ZEALAND has the right to vote in Prohibition every two years. Several areas which went "dry" under local option twenty or thirty years ago have remained "dry" every since.

MEXICO.—Several provinces have passed Prohibition laws, which are in force in varying degree.

CENTRAL AMERICA.—Scientific temperance teaching in the schools in Peru, Brazil, Argentine, Uruguay, and Chile. In Uruguay this teaching is subsidised by the Government.

GOLD COAST.—On eve of Prohibition.

NOVA SCOTIA.—Prohibition since 1916.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.—Prohibition since 1900.

FIJI.—Partial Prohibition.

PERU.—Prohibition of spirits on Saturdays and Sundays.

You had thought that Ulster was leading the field in the matter of Temperance Reform; now you see that she is at

The Heel of the Hunt.

Are you content that she should remain so?

Restrictions Urgently Required.

While the entire prohibition of the drink evil, and the diversion to industry of the seven millions annually wasted thereon, must remain the final and not distant goal of every student of social welfare, there are certain restrictions of the liquor traffic which the majority of the country would like to see legislatively carried out at once, so as to meet the exigencies of the present industrial crisis, and give time to prepare for the full and final measure of abolition.

Question of Clubs.

(1) There is, e.g., practical agreement on this question. The country, because of the camouflaged and surreptitious nature of spirit groceries, had, in 1923, to legislate these practically out of existence. Having done so, it is not now prepared to see another

camouflaged method of supplying liquor grow up in its midst. Consequently the Government would find strong backing for a Bill which took away from every club—the rich man's club as well as the poor man's—the power to supply intoxicating liquor.

Redundant Licences.

(2) The Government would also be supported in effecting a drastic reduction in the number of public-houses. Northern Ireland is altogether too small and too poor a country to support an army of 2,965 liquor sellers. Neither can it afford to have so much capital locked away in such a disastrous and uneconomic traffic. If the number of public-houses now existing were reduced by one-half, there would, in comparison with the volume of trade done, be as many as were equal to the supposed needs of the country seven years ago. Probably a note of warning should be sounded here—that determined as the country is to stand by the Government in a drastic reduction of public-houses, it would be no party to a policy which sought to reduce one evil at the expense of another and equally serious evil such as gambling receiving Government sanction and licence.

Question of Hours.

(3) Then again, it is felt that something needs to be done in regard to the question of hours. Why should the public-houses in Northern Ireland be allowed to keep open for twelve hours every week-day, while those in England and Scotland are only allowed eight hours per day? Every hour the public-houses are open they cost the people of Northern Ireland over £1,000. Does anybody believe that that is a good bargain for the country? Or is there anyone, clothed in his right mind, who would dispute the wisdom or urgency for restricting this waste to an eight-hour day? The legitimate labour-employing, community-benefiting trading concerns are all so restricted. Why should exception alone be made in the case of a traffic for which not one single beneficial or economic claim can be advanced. In England they think eight hours per day sufficient. Here is what one of them says:

"I do not know a single magistrate who would favour longer hours for public-houses."—SIR ALFRED DAVIES.

CLOSED DOWN COMPLETELY.

Non-European Reforms.

INDIA.—In September, 1925, the Imperial Legislative Assembly, representing the whole of India, passed a resolution by sixty-nine to thirty-nine, calling upon the Government to accept Prohibition as its ultimate policy, and to inaugurate as a first step a system of local option.

CEYLON.—Local option is in force. Many polls have taken place, the great majority resulting in taverns being closed. Licences have been reduced since 1918 from 2,138 to 1,032—a reduction of one-half in ten years.

SOUTH AFRICA.—A private local option Bill, in 1924, was only defeated by two votes.

CENTRAL AFRICA.—Territories where alcohol has not been introduced are to remain under Prohibition.

EGYPT.—There is a Parliamentary group which has included Prohibition in its political programme.

JAPAN.—At the first general election (1st June, 1928) under universal suffrage, no less than eighty-seven members were elected pledged to raise the age from 21 to 25 for the right to purchase alcoholic beverages.

AUSTRALIA.—All States have local option laws which vary in different areas. Public houses are generally closed at 6 o'clock each evening.

NEW ZEALAND has the right to vote in Prohibition every two years. Several areas which went "dry" under local option twenty or thirty years ago have remained "dry" every since.

MEXICO.—Several provinces have passed Prohibition laws, which are in force in varying degree.

CENTRAL AMERICA.—Scientific temperance teaching in the schools in Peru, Brazil, Argentine, Uruguay, and Chile. In Uruguay this teaching is subsidised by the Government.

GOLD COAST.—On eve of Prohibition.

NOVA SCOTIA.—Prohibition since 1916.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.—Prohibition since 1900.

FIJI.—Partial Prohibition.

PERU.—Prohibition of spirits on Saturdays and Sundays.

You had thought that Ulster was leading the field in the matter of Temperance Reform; now you see that she is at

The Heel of the Hunt.

Are you content that she should remain so?

Restrictions Urgently Required.

While the entire prohibition of the drink evil, and the diversion to industry of the seven millions annually wasted thereon, must remain the final and not distant goal of every student of social welfare, there are certain restrictions of the liquor traffic which the majority of the country would like to see legislatively carried out at once, so as to meet the exigencies of the present industrial crisis, and give time to prepare for the full and final measure of abolition.

Question of Clubs.

(1) There is, e.g., practical agreement on this question. The country, because of the camouflaged and surreptitious nature of spirit groceries, had, in 1923, to legislate these practically out of existence. Having done so, it is not now prepared to see another camouflaged method of supplying liquor grow up in its midst. Consequently the Government would find strong backing for a Bill which took away from every club—the rich man's club as well as the poor man's—the power to supply intoxicating liquor.

Redundant Licences.

(2) The Government would also be supported in effecting a drastic reduction in the number of public-houses. Northern Ireland is altogether too small and too poor a country to support an army of 2,965 liquor sellers. Neither can it afford to have so much capital locked away in such a disastrous and uneconomic traffic. If the number of public-houses now existing were reduced by one-half, there would, in comparison with the volume of trade done, be as many as were equal to the supposed needs of the country seven years ago. Probably a note of warning should be sounded here—that determined as the country is to stand by the Government in a drastic reduction of public-houses, it would be no party to a policy which sought to reduce one evil at the expense of another and equally serious evil such as gambling receiving Government sanction and licence.

Question of Hours.

(3) Then again, it is felt that something needs to be done in regard to the question of hours. Why should the public-houses in Northern Ireland be allowed to keep open for twelve hours every week-day, while those in England and Scotland are only allowed eight hours per day? Every hour the public-houses are open they cost the people of Northern Ireland over £1,000. Does anybody believe that that is a good bargain for the country? Or is there anyone, clothed in his right mind, who would dispute the wisdom or urgency for restricting this waste to an eight-hour day? The legitimate labour-employing, community-benefiting trading concerns are all so restricted. Why should exception alone be made in the case of a traffic for which not one single beneficial or economic claim can be advanced. In England they think eight hours per day sufficient. Here is what one of them says:

"I do not know a single magistrate who would favour longer hours for public-houses."—SIR ALFRED DAVIES.

CLOSED DOWN COMPLETELY.

Conclusion.

In the opinion of those who know the facts, there is a crash coming, of unprecedented proportions, in the trade and commerce of the country. Wealth and values will be engulfed as in a vortex, and there will be a general breakdown of credit, with all the sorrow and tragedy consequent thereon. Whether and how we shall ultimately emerge from the catastrophe will depend largely upon the action we are now prepared as a country to take. There are only two remedies adequate to the advancing peril. **They are temperance reform and fiscal reform.** Unfortunately the Government of Northern Ireland has not the power to make changes in fiscal matters until the Imperial Parliament and the electors of Great Britain take the first step. No one can tell when, if ever, this will come to pass. And during the time of waiting, the trade and commerce of Northern Ireland may go down and out.

PUSH ULSTER GOODS

To push linen forward, you must push liquor backward

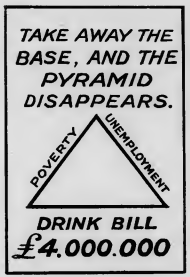
A New Asset.

In view of all these circumstances, Northern Ireland must, at this critical juncture, think and act for herself, and that by adopting the only remedy within her power, viz., the remedy of a speedy and drastic reduction of the country's spendings and costs on this nefarious liquor traffic. Sir Josiah Stamp declares that the reduction of Great Britain's drink bill by *one-half* would give her in a generation a new asset of £1,000,000,000. On the same basis, Northern Ireland would in a like period become the possessor of a new asset of practically £28,000,000. As Sir Josiah Stamp always under-estimates, rather than otherwise, the beneficial results expected to flow from the restriction or elimination of the drink evil, this estimated increase of our assets in a generation by £28,000,000 may be taken as a very modest one. Yet modest as it may be, where is there any other remedy that we can adopt which carries with it such boundless possibilities ? By cutting out the whole of our Drink Bill, we would have in Northern Ireland, in a generation, a new asset of £56,000,000.

Think of what a new asset of £28,000,000 or £56,000,000 would do for the country. The Free State, for a payment of about £6,000,000, is harnessing the Shannon, and becoming the proud possessor of an electric scheme of great national value. Were she able to cut the initial cost, she could supply Irish industries with the cheapest power in the world. Northern Ireland, as we see, could, in a few years, cut the cost of half a dozen equally great national undertakings, were she to cut down by half her spendings on intoxicating liquors. We are just now perishing commercially in Northern Ireland for want of vision, yet surely considerations of this kind should awaken us to possibilities—the glorious industrial possibilities—that await our abandonment of evil habits and uneconomic spendings.

Local Option.

In considering the subject of our industrial crisis, and of what ought to be done, along temperance reform lines, to restore trade and prosperity, we have, up to this point, studiously avoided saying anything about Local Option. With Lord Carson we believe that such is "the only fair way," and that before long the Government will be very glad to legislate accordingly. Meanwhile, however, the seriousness of the times warrant the immediate advocacy of legislative solutions likely to command a general and willing assent and such as are capable of quickly passing into the Statute Book.



Particular theories can 'bide-a-wee,' but the prohibition of the supply of liquor in registered clubs (now amounting to over £74,000 per annum), the elimination of redundant public-houses (which in regard to volume of trade are about fifty per cent. in excess of the country's supposed needs), and the reducing of the hours of sale to the week-day eight-hour standard of Britain, are, in these dark days of industrial depression, matters of urgent economic necessity.

The fact that in the immediate past these suggested reforms all received much professed support from those Parliamentary representatives who were opposed to the more democratic measure, strengthens the hope and expectation of great and glad things being now accomplished along these desired and desirable lines.

The Rebuilding of Ulster.

The increase in the total of unemployed, as shown by the returns this week, is a painful indication that the tide of unemployment is still rising. How much farther will it be allowed to go before our old gentlemen wake up and before a strenuous effort is made to rebuild Ulster and assist her industries?

The problem has been tackled on wrong lines. *Nineteenth-century minds have attempted to grapple with what are essentially twentieth-century issues.* Timid half-measures have been tried, and now we are sitting meekly awaiting for the clouds to roll by, while Asiatic competition grows, while our foreign rivals consolidate their industries, and our hold on foreign markets relaxes.

To rebuild Ulster is not impossible if only twentieth-century brains are applied to the task. But it cannot be done by spending millions in public assistance and laying upon our unfortunate, stricken industries the burden of providing the immense sums thus lavished to bribe the electorate. What Italy has actually accomplished in the last eight years shows what can be done with energy and insight. Italy is a comparatively poor country, with few sources of natural wealth. Yet since the war she has made a gigantic effort, modernised her whole equipment, and in at least two directions—shipbuilding and cotton manufacture—become a dangerous competitor of ourselves.

When we turn to Ulster we find inertia. Our elderly, old-fashioned Ministers, whose ideas were growing musty in Queen Victoria's day, may be good enough at "back chat," but they seem to have lost the power of action.

These excerpts on "The Rebuilding of Ulster" are from the "Daily Mail's" editorial, 20th March, 1930. The only change made in

them is the substitution of "Ulster" for "Britain."

N.B.—Italy has closed 27,000 public-houses during the last five years.

Problem To Be Tackled.

Leaving entirely out of account the five thousand brought to the register by the new Insurance Act, the unemployed in Northern Ireland actually outnumber the combined industrial population of the following towns.

	Total Population.	Industrial Population. 45% of total Population.
Antrim	1,979	886
Ballymena	11,875	5,341
Ballymoney	3,100	1,395
Coleraine	6,080	3,636
Cookstown	3,685	1,656
Dungannon	3,760	1,692
Omagh	5,124	2,304
Strabane	5,156	2,317
Newtownards	10,150	4,567
Lisburn	12,394	5,575
Lurgan	12,499	5,620
Portadown	11,991	5,395
Newry	12,226	5,499
	102,019	45,883

In view of the terrible position in which Northern Ireland now finds itself with an out-of-work population of over 53,000—a number the magnitude of which comes home to us by remembering that it exceeds the combined industrial population of Antrim, Ballymena, Ballymoney, Coleraine, Cookstown, Dungannon, Omagh, Strabane, Newtownards, Lisburn, Lurgan, Portadown, and Newry—it will be easily realized that any remedy to be effective will require to be of a very thorough-going character. "Half a loaf," it is said, "is better than no bread"; but unfortunately in the matter of temperance reform the quantity rationed out to the country is very often little more than half a slice—and even that thinned down to wafer proportions.

At this stage, it has to be carefully borne in mind that we do not saddle drink with responsibility for all our national unemployment. But drink, by its destruction of the people's earnings, is charged as the cause, and the primary cause, of delaying the desired return to trade and prosperity.

Emigration.

Ulster is fast becoming the sinking ship of the British Empire. Everybody that can get away from it is doing so. Over twelve thousand now sail away every year from its shores. The majority of these are from 20 to 25 years of age. One year's sailings alone would constitute the population of a town as large as Newtownards or Portadown. What makes this all so sad is the fact that our local Government could commence the restoration of trade and confidence to-morrow if it would only address itself to the wrongs done by the liquor traffic. The elimination of the drink evil would give a seven million pounds annual tonic to industry. The Government of Northern Ireland, unlike any other Government in Europe, has the

CLOSED ARE ITS GATES.

ball of social reform at its own foot—yet it refuses to score.

What makes its inaction wholly blameworthy is the fact that the country would give hearty support in these reforms, and that nothing else can stave off this titanic disaster.

Moreover, the liquor traffic itself would co-operate towards the successful passing of these measures. Publicans are as much incensed at the clubs' right to supply liquor as the public. They feel the unfairness of this competition; and it is *most unfair* that groups of individuals can get together and become registered, at a nominal charge, for the supply of intoxicating liquors—for the supply of them at almost any hour of the night or day, and on any and every day, Sundays included. Publicans would also favour the policy of elimination of redundant licences, some doubtless on the ground of themselves getting out of the business, and others in the hope of profiting by the lessening of competition. Then the bartenders are already threatening (21st April, 1930) to go out on strike for the securing of an eight-hour day. With the way thus made easy, if the Government, after all their election promises, refuse to introduce and pass these reforms, they will stand revealed in their true colours.

EMIGRATION is an uneconomic remedy for unemployment.

—

You want a Larger Home Market, not a Smaller

Losing Hope.

Though not saying much, business men in Northern Ireland are fast losing hope. The head of one of our largest mills believes things *"have already been allowed to drift too far for any remedy now to be effective."* Yet though night and chaos are admittedly fast settling down upon us, we do not altogether share in the anticipation of this dark denouement. We believe, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that Northern Ireland can and will, sooner or later, surmount her difficulties. For three centuries she has had to fight for fortune, faith, and freedom. And though her present economic struggle for survival may be the grimmest in her history, she can finally emerge with victory, provided her legislators will only do something to divert the £7,000,000 which, directly and indirectly, liquor now annually costs the country, and thus salvage these worse than wasted millions for the creation of a great home market, wherein the people may be able to purchase the goods they need; agriculture and industry to sell the things they create.

If that is done, then in spite of the ruin already all around us, and the worse things ominously marshalling on the horizon, Northern Ireland will yet rise like a Phœnix from its ashes, and stride confidently forward to renewed experiences of trade and prosperity.

For that reason this book goes out—not on a mission of pessimism, but of hope—not to parade our national troubles, except in so far as it is necessary to find a remedy—not to discourage, but to encourage all who are working for this brighter and richer future. It will, therefore, doubtless carry the prayer of every right-minded person in the community, the prayer that our local legislature may address itself without delay to this, the greatest and most pressing problem of our age.

them is the substitution of "Ulster" for "Britain."

N.B.—Italy has closed 27,000 public-houses during the last five years.

Problem To Be Tackled.

Leaving entirely out of account the five thousand brought to the register by the new Insurance Act, the unemployed in Northern Ireland actually outnumber the combined industrial population of the following towns.

	Total Population.	Industrial Population. 45% of total Population.
Antrim	1,979	886
Ballymena	11,875	5,341
Ballymoney	3,100	1,395
Coleraine	8,080	3,636
Cookstown	3,685	1,656
Dungannon	3,760	1,692
Omagh	5,124	2,304
Strabane	5,156	2,317
Newtownards	10,150	4,567
Lisburn	12,394	5,575
Lurgan	12,499	5,620
Portadown	11,991	5,395
Newry	12,226	5,499
	102,019	45,883

In view of the terrible position in which Northern Ireland now finds itself with an out-of-work population of over 53,000—a number the magnitude of which comes home to us by remembering that it exceeds the combined industrial population of Antrim, Ballymena, Ballymoney, Coleraine, Cookstown, Dungannon, Omagh, Strabane, Newtownards, Lisburn, Lurgan, Portadown, and Newry—it will be easily realized that any remedy to be effective will require to be of a very thorough-going character. "Half a loaf," it is said, "is better than no bread"; but unfortunately in the matter of temperance reform the quantity rationed out to the country is very often little more than half a slice—and even that thinned down to wafer proportions.

At this stage, it has to be carefully borne in mind that we do not saddle drink with responsibility for all our national unemployment. But drink, by its destruction of the people's earnings, is charged as the cause, and the primary cause, of delaying the desired return to trade and prosperity.

Emigration.

Ulster is fast becoming the sinking ship of the British Empire. Everybody that can get away from it is doing so. Over twelve thousand now sail away every year from its shores. The majority of these are from 20 to 25 years of age. One year's sailings alone would constitute the population of a town as large as Newtownards or Portadown. What makes this all so sad is the fact that our local Government could commence the restoration of trade and confidence to-morrow if it would only address itself to the wrongs done by the liquor traffic. The elimination of the drink evil would give a seven million pounds annual tonic to industry. The Government of Northern Ireland, unlike any other Government in Europe, has the

CLOSED ARE ITS GATES.

ball of social reform at its own foot—yet it refuses to score.

What makes its inaction wholly blameworthy is the fact that the country would give hearty support in these reforms, and that nothing else can stave off this titanic disaster.

Moreover, the liquor traffic itself would co-operate towards the successful passing of these measures. Publicans are as much incensed at the clubs' right to supply liquor as the public. They feel the unfairness of this competition; and it is *most unfair* that groups of individuals can get together and become registered, at a nominal charge, for the supply of intoxicating liquors—for the supply of them at almost any hour of the night or day, and on any and every day, Sundays included. Publicans would also favour the policy of elimination of redundant licences, some doubtless on the ground of themselves getting out of the business, and others in the hope of profiting by the lessening of competition. Then the bartenders are already threatening (21st April, 1930) to go out on strike for the securing of an eight-hour day. With the way thus made easy, if the Government, after all their election promises, refuse to introduce and pass these reforms, they will stand revealed in their true colours.

EMIGRATION is an uneconomic remedy for unemployment.

—

You want a Larger Home Market, not a Smaller

Losing Hope.

Though not saying much, business men in Northern Ireland are fast losing hope. The head of one of our largest mills believes things *"have already been allowed to drift too far for any remedy now to be effective."* Yet though night and chaos are admittedly fast settling down upon us, we do not altogether share in the anticipation of this dark denouement. We believe, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that Northern Ireland can and will, sooner or later, surmount her difficulties. For three centuries she has had to fight for fortune, faith, and freedom. And though her present economic struggle for survival may be the grimmest in her history, she can finally emerge with victory, provided her legislators will only do something to divert the £7,000,000 which, directly and indirectly, liquor now annually costs the country, and thus salvage these worse than wasted millions for the creation of a great home market, wherein the people may be able to purchase the goods they need; agriculture and industry to sell the things they create.

If that is done, then in spite of the ruin already all around us, and the worse things ominously marshalling on the horizon, Northern Ireland will yet rise like a Phœnix from its ashes, and stride confidently forward to renewed experiences of trade and prosperity.

For that reason this book goes out—not on a mission of pessimism, but of hope—not to parade our national troubles, except in so far as it is necessary to find a remedy—not to discourage, but to encourage all who are working for this brighter and richer future. It will, therefore, doubtless carry the prayer of every right-minded person in the community, the prayer that our local legislature may address itself without delay to this, the greatest and most pressing problem of our age.

Weekly Number of Persons Registered for Employment from 3rd January, 1927, till 31st March, 1930.

Date	Live Register
1927.	
3rd Jan. ...	49,407
10th ,, ...	49,037
17th ,, ...	46,244
24th ,, ...	45,911
31st ,, ...	43,856
7th Feb. ...	43,487
14th ,, ...	41,225
21st ,, ...	39,480
28th ,, ...	38,460
7th Mar. ...	37,125
14th ,, ...	35,440
21st ,, ...	34,000
28th ,, ...	33,274
4th April ...	32,566
11th ,, ...	31,488
19th ,, ...	31,825
25th ,, ...	30,346
2nd May ...	29,968
9th ,, ...	30,258
16th ,, ...	29,370
23rd ,, ...	29,367
30th ,, ...	29,498
6th June ...	28,196
13th ,, ...	28,671
20th ,, ...	27,551
27th ,, ...	27,464
4th July ...	27,443
11th ,, ...	33,286
18th ,, ...	31,506
25th ,, ...	27,612
1st Aug. ...	26,512
8th ,, ...	27,235
15th ,, ...	27,585
22nd ,, ...	27,585
29th ,, ...	27,095
5th Sept. ...	27,064
12th ,, ...	26,380
19th ,, ...	25,419
26th ,, ...	25,049
3rd Oct. ...	25,322
10th ,, ...	25,045
17th ,, ...	25,025
24th ,, ...	24,484
31st ,, ...	25,655
7th Nov. ...	24,849
14th ,, ...	25,182
21st ,, ...	25,579
28th ,, ...	26,572
5th Dec. ...	26,710
12th ,, ...	27,896
19th ,, ...	27,231
26th ,, ...	No figs. coll.
1928.	
2nd Jan. ...	31,918
9th ,, ...	30,877
16th ,, ...	29,764
23rd ,, ...	30,493
30th ,, ...	30,145
6th Feb. ...	29,386
13th ,, ...	29,510
20th ,, ...	29,488
27th ,, ...	29,931
5th Mar. ...	28,488
12th ,, ...	28,601
19th ,, ...	29,864
26th ,, ...	29,037
2nd April ...	29,488
10th ,, ...	39,271
16th ,, ...	36,070
23rd ,, ...	32,151
30th ,, ...	35,340
7th May ...	39,115
14th ,, ...	39,854
21st ,, ...	42,274
28th ,, ...	42,548
4th June ...	45,340
11th ,, ...	44,748
18th ,, ...	47,124
25th ,, ...	46,331
2nd July ...	46,289
9th ,, ...	60,825
16th ,, ...	60,498
23rd ,, ...	50,657
30th ,, ...	48,869
6th Aug. ...	47,240
13th ,, ...	47,220
20th ,, ...	46,936
27th ,, ...	47,349
3rd Sept. ...	46,828
10th ,, ...	46,956
17th ,, ...	47,530
24th ,, ...	47,277
1st Oct. ...	47,300
8th ,, ...	46,146
15th ,, ...	46,420
22nd ,, ...	45,275
29th ,, ...	45,958
5th Nov. ...	44,726
12th ,, ...	45,067
19th ,, ...	44,581
26th ,, ...	43,011
3rd Dec. ...	41,541
10th ,, ...	40,997
17th ,, ...	40,783
24th ,, ...	No figs. coll.
31st ,, ...	44,609
1929.	
7th Jan. ...	42,543
14th ,, ...	42,228
21st ,, ...	41,528
28th ,, ...	39,796
4th Feb. ...	39,998
11th ,, ...	38,693
18th ,, ...	38,844
25th ,, ...	37,841
4th Mar. ...	38,361
11th ,, ...	36,937
18th ,, ...	37,035
25th ,, ...	35,101
1st April ...	No figs. coll.
8th ,, ...	38,181
15th ,, ...	35,291
22nd ,, ...	34,280
29th ,, ...	34,529
6th May ...	34,448
13th ,, ...	33,668
20th ,, ...	No figs. coll.
27th ,, ...	33,021
3rd June ...	34,555
10th ,, ...	34,803
17th ,, ...	35,071
24th ,, ...	33,360
1st July ...	33,682
8th ,, ...	34,886
15th ,, ...	40,619
22nd ,, ...	33,934
29th ,, ...	34,044
5th Aug. ...	No. figs. coll.
12th ,, ...	34,422
19th ,, ...	33,548
26th ,, ...	34,368
2nd Sept. ...	34,927
9th ,, ...	35,549
16th ,, ...	34,967
23rd ,, ...	34,827
30th ,, ...	35,329
7th Oct. ...	35,399
14th ,, ...	34,641
21st ,, ...	35,400
28th ,, ...	35,267
4th Nov. ...	36,640
11th ,, ...	36,275
18th ,, ...	38,644
25th ,, ...	37,442
2nd Dec. ...	38,503
9th ,, ...	37,625
16th ,, ...	37,626
23rd ,, ...	No figs. coll.
30th ,, ...	42,214
1930.	
6th Jan. ...	41,037
13th ,, ...	42,963
20th ,, ...	41,737
27th ,, ...	42,190
3rd Feb. ...	42,250
10th ,, ...	42,403
17th ,, ...	42,893
24th ,, ...	42,960
3rd Mar. ...	43,178
10th ,, ...	44,427
17th ,, ...	49,889
24th ,, ...	51,303
31st ,, ...	53,634

Government Return showing the number of convictions for offences (both endorsable and not endorsable) committed by licensed persons during the years 1926 to 1929 :—

	1926	1927	1928	1929
Convictions for permitting drunkenness on licensed premises ...	7	6	9	5
Convictions for selling drink to young persons	2	3	3	2
Convictions for offences against closing regulations by licensed persons	119	122	123	98
Convictions for other offences by licensed persons	34	32	20	27
Total ...	162	163	155	132
Endorsements	12	7	9	8

Table showing the number of convictions in Northern Ireland for simple drunkenness and drunkenness with aggravations during the years 1926-1929 :—

Offences.	1926	1927	1928	1929
Simple drunkenness	2,586	2,950	2,150	2,603
Drunkenness with aggravations ...	1,694	1,799	1,484	1,628

Exports of whisky and porter as taken from Harbour Board Returns.

	Whisky Tons	Porter Tons		Whisky Tons	Porter Tons
1922 ...	15,168 (1 ton foreign)	49	1926 ...	5,708 (3 tons foreign)	58
1923 ...	12,569 (4 tons foreign)	128	1927 ...	4,354 (2 tons foreign)	32
1924 ...	13,408 (3 tons foreign)	50	1928 ...	4,263 (7 tons foreign)	2
1925 ...	11,851 (4 tons foreign)	37	1929 ...	4,191 (1 ton foreign)	7

GOVERNMENT RETURN OF REGISTERED CLUBS UNDER SECTION 11 (4) OF THE INTOXICATING LIQUORS AND LICENSING ACT (N.I.) 1927, FOR CALENDAR YEAR, 1928.

No.	Name	Address	Object	No. of Members	Hours for sale of intoxicating liquor		Amount expended by Club in purchase of intoxicating liquors
					Week-days	Sundays	
1	Armagh Club	English St., Armagh		68	9 a.m.—12.30 a.m.	9 a.m.—12.30 a.m.	£205 0 0
2	Bangor Golf Club	Hamilton Rd., Bangor	Recreational and Social	373	10 a.m.—12 midnight	Nil	1,068 0 6
3	Belfast Engineers' Working Men's Club and Institute	112 North St., Belfast	Social	681	8 a.m.—2 a.m.	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	4,202 0 0
4	Belfast Masonic Club	Arthur Square, Belfast	Social	108	9 a.m.—12 midnight	Nil	1,149 0 0
5	Belfast and Counties Club	9 Pottinger's Entry, Belfast	Social	292	4 p.m.—1 a.m.	1 p.m.—12 midnight	1,071 0 0
6	Belmont Bowling Club	Kincora Ave., Belfast	Bowling and Social	97	10 a.m.—12 midnight	Nil	648 0 0
7	British Legion Central Club	Auction Bldgs., Montgomery St., Belfast	Social and Recreational	165	11 a.m.—12 midnight	11 a.m.—11 p.m.	1,673 0 0
8	British Legion Naval Club	184 North St., Belfast	Social	465	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	12 noon—10 p.m.	3,490 0 0
9	British Legion Club (Newry Branch)	Sugar House Quay, Newry	Social	154	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	846 0 4
10	British Legion, Omagh	Campsie Rd., Omagh	Social	234	2 p.m.—12 midnight	2 p.m.—12 midnight	364 9 0
11	British Legion Branch Club	Roger's Court, Lurgan, Co. Armagh	Social	92	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	700 0 0
12	British Legion Club, Armagh	College St., Armagh	Social	293	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	1,405 0 0
13	Brookville Masonic Club	Antrim Rd., Belfast	Social	138	8 a.m.—11.45 p.m.	8 a.m.—11.45 p.m.	1,198 5 2
14	Castlerock Golf Club	Castlerock, Co. Derry	Social and Recreational	174	10 a.m.—10.30 p.m.	Nil	462 11 11
15	Catholic Working Men's Club	36 Hill St., Newry	Social	205	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	906 6 8
16	Central Catholic Club	123 Royal Ave., Belfast	Social	184	10 a.m.—12 midnight	11 a.m.—12 midnight	1,955 0 0

No.	Name	Address	Object	No of Members	Hours for sale of intoxicating liquor		Amount expended by Club in purchase of intoxicating liquors
					Week-days	Sundays	
17	City Club, Armagh	5 Charlemont Place, Armagh	Social	95	10 a.m.—12.30 p.m.	10 a.m.—12.30 a.m.	1,085 0 0
18	City Hibernian Club	7 Frederick St., Belfast	Social	30	11 a.m.—11.30 p.m.	11 a.m.—11.30 p.m.	802 11 6
19	Cliftonville Golf Social Club	Cardigan Drive, Belfast	Social and Recreational	126	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	604 1 10
20	Constitutional Club, Omagh	Dublin Rd., Omagh	Social	51	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	493 5 6
21	County Club	118 Irish Street, Downpatrick	Social	61	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	211 0 0
22	Derry Catholic Club	22 Magazine Street, Londonderry		200	9.30 a.m.—12 midnight	12 noon—2.30 p.m.; 8 p.m.—12 midnight	823 0 0
23	Donaghadee Golf Club	Warren Road, Donaghadee	Social and Recreational	357	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	329 18 1
24	Donegall Masonic Club	Arthur Square, Belfast	Social	275	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	888 0 0
25	Down Hunt Club	The Mall, Downpatrick	Social	46	9 a.m.—2.30 a.m.	9 a.m.—2.30 a.m.	10 0 0
26	Eccentric Club	3 Joy's Entry, Belfast	Social	217	6 p.m.—1 a.m.	12.30 p.m.—12 midnight	893 0 0
27	Enniskillen Branch British Legion	The Legion Hut, Eden Street, Enniskillen	Social	90	10 a.m.—10 p.m.	Nil	452 19 4
28	Enniskillen Yacht Club	East Bridge Street, Enniskillen	Yachting	194	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	Nil	1,373 19 7
29	Fermanagh County Club	Church St., Enniskillen	Social	46	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	17 11 0
30	Forester's Club	39 Divis St., Belfast	Social	148	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	10 a.m.—2.30 p.m.; 4.30 p.m.—11 p.m.	918 0 0
31	Greenisland Golf Club	Greenisland, Co. Antrim	Social and Recreational	263	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	Nil	44 15 0
32	Heart of Erin	9 Havelock Place, Warrenpoint	Social	351	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	1,202 16 8
33	Helen's Bay Golf Club	Helen's Bay, Co. Down	Recreational and Social	195	10 a.m.—12 midnight	12 noon—10 p.m.	572 8 6
34	Hibernian Club	The Mall, Newry	Social	288	9 a.m.—12 midnight	9 a.m.—12 midnight	1,213 11 6
35	John Mandeville Club	15 Stephen St., Belfast	Social	200	7.30 a.m.—11 a.m.; 7.30 p.m.—11.30 p.m.	9 a.m.—1.30 p.m.; 3.30 p.m.—6 p.m.; 7 p.m.—11.30 p.m.	1,806 0 0
36	John Mitchell Club	John Mitchell Place, Newry	Social	578	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	1,375 10 4

No.	Name	Address	Object	No. of Members	Hours for sale of intoxicating liquid		Amount expended by Club in purchase of intoxicating liquors
					Week-days	Sundays	
37	Knock Golf Club, Ltd.	Summerfield, Dundonald, Co. Down	Social and Recreational	292	8 a.m.—11 p.m.	Nil	1,049 0 0
38	Lisburn Golf Club	Old Warren, Lisburn	Social and Recreational	192	9.30 a.m.—11 p.m.	Nil	598 14 8
39	Londonderry City Club	Richmond Street, Londonderry	Social	63	9 a.m.—12 midnight	9 a.m.—2.30 p.m.; 7.30 p.m.—12 midnight	475 0 0
40	Malone Golf Club	Upper Malone, Co. Antrim	Social and Recreational	466	10 a.m.—11 p.m.	Nil	593 0 0
41	National Club	30 Berry St., Belfast	Social	292	10 a.m.—1 a.m.	10 a.m.—1 a.m.	3,594 0 0
42	Newry Club, Ltd.	4 Trevor Hill, Newry	Social	64	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	599 8 0
43	Newry Independent National and St. Joseph's Band Amalgamated Club	30 Kilmorey St., Newry	Social	104	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	445 0 11
44	Nightworkers' Social Club	36-40 Edward Street, Belfast	Social	170	1 a.m.—10 a.m. every day, and in addition, 6 p.m.—12 midnight on Saturday	12 midnight on Saturday till 1 a.m. on Sunday; 10 a.m.—2 p.m.; 6 p.m.—12 midnight	3,152 0 0
45	North of Ireland Cricket and Football Club	Ormeau Rd., Belfast		465	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	243 0 0
46	Northern Counties Club	24-26 Bishop Street, Londonderry	Social	181	9 a.m.—1 a.m.	9 a.m.—1 a.m.	1,063 13 0
47	Post Office (N.I.) Ex-Servicemen's Social Club	6 Telfair St., Belfast	Social	194	12 noon—12 midnight	12 noon—12 midnight	1,039 13 2
48	Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes, Grand Lodge of N.I. Club	59 Newtownards Road, Belfast	Social	477	4 p.m.—12.30 a.m.	1 p.m.—11 p.m.	2,590 0 0
49	Royal Belfast Golf Club	Craigavad, Co. Down	Social and Recreational	496	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	1,549 0 0
50	Royal County Down Golf Club	Newcastle, Co. Down	Social and Recreational	491	10 a.m.—10 p.m.	10 a.m.—10 p.m.	879 6 5
51	Royal North of Ireland Yacht Club	Cultra, Co. Down	Yachting	650	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	316 0 0
52	Royal Portrush Golf Club	Portrush, Co. Antrim	Social and Recreational	506	10 a.m.—10 p.m.	Nil	1,136 13 0
53	Royal Ulster Rifles Association Club	170 York St., Belfast	Social	124	11 a.m.—11 p.m.	12 noon—2 p.m.; 6 p.m.—10.30 p.m.	694 9 2

No.	Name	Address	Object	No. of Members	Hours for sale of intoxicating liquor		Amount expended by Club in purchase of intoxicating liquors
					Week-days	Sunday	
54	Royal Ulster Yacht Club	Clifton Road, Bangor, Co. Down	Yachting	404	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	984 11 0
55	Samuel Neilson National and Commemoration Club	130 Dover St., Belfast	Social	88	10 a.m.—10 p.m.	10 a.m.—3.30 p.m.; 5 p.m.—10 p.m.	897 0 0
56	St. Catherine's Band and Club	33 Merchants Quay, Newry	Social	215	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	796 14 8
57	St. Mary's Hall Club	Hercules Buildings, Chapel Lane, Belfast	Social	96	10 a.m.—1 a.m.	10 a.m.—1 a.m.	1,897 0 0
58	Strabane Golf Club	Carricklee, Strabane, Co. Tyrone	Social and Recreational	90	1 a.m.—9 p.m.	Nil	140 0 0
59	The Club	Lower Mill St., Ballymena	Social	30	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	148 7 0
60	Tyrone County Club	High Street, Omagh	Social	61	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	270 2 8
61	Ulster Arts Club	122 Gt. Victoria Street, Belfast	Arts	99	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	423 0 0
62	Ulster Club	Castle Place, Belfast	Social	341	8 a.m.—2 a.m.	8 a.m.—2 a.m.	1,361 0 0
63	Ulster Cricket Club	Ulster Cricket Grounds, Ballynafeigh, Belfast	Social	190	1 p.m.—1 a.m.	1 p.m.—1 a.m.	1,056 0 0
64	Ulster Hibernian Club	67a King St., Belfast	Social	192	7.30 p.m.—11 p.m.	10.30 a.m.—3.30 p.m.; 5 p.m.—11.30 p.m.	1,362 0 0
65	Ulster Ladies' Club	14 Donegall Square W., Belfast	Social	206	12 noon—12.30 a.m.	12 noon—12.30 a.m.	44 0 0
66	Ulster Reform Club	4 Royal Avenue, Belfast	Social	424	8 a.m.—1 a.m.; Saturday from 8 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—10 p.m.	1,082 0 0
67	Ulster Sports Club	35 High Street, Belfast	Social	195	1 p.m.—1 a.m.	1 p.m.—1 a.m.	2,769 0 0
68	Union Club, Belfast	6 Donegall Place, Belfast	Social	228	8 a.m.—1 a.m.; Saturday from 8 a.m.—12 midnight	8 a.m.—9 p.m.	1,334 0 0
69	Warrenpoint Golf Club	Dromore, Warrenpoint, Co. Down	Social and Recreational	265	9 a.m.—11 p.m.	9 a.m.—11 p.m.	830 3 3
70	West Belfast Social Club	138 Falls Rd., Belfast	Social	200	12 noon—12 midnight	12 noon—12 midnight	1,619 0 0
71	Windsor Club	Windsor Ave., Lurgan	Social	51	10 a.m.—12 midnight	10 a.m.—12 midnight	657 12 10
				16,316			74,150 12 2

UNEMPLOYMENT.

NORTHERN IRELAND, in which **Hunger and Destitution** prevail, spent in one year (1928-9) £4,000,000 on drink.

UNEMPLOYMENT, accompanied as it always is by misery and despair, hangs like a pall over our land whilst those in "The Trade" amass great fortunes.

A Board of Trade report on Irish industries gave the following figures as to employment, 1914 :—

	PERSONS EMPLOYED.
Textile Industries	75,692
Clothing, Handkerchiefs, and Millinery ...	41,836
Shipbuilding (assumed)	40,000
Fishing (sea and salmon)	31,213
Building Trade	14,330
Railway Construction and Repairs ...	11,696
Bread and Biscuit Making	9,445
Brewing and Malting	6,451
Distilling	2,423

Hunger and Destitution.

The £4,000,000 spent on drink in Northern Ireland (1928-9) would have paid for :—

50,000 tons of flour at £18 per ton ...	£900,000
50,000 tons of meal at £16 per ton ...	800,000
100,000 tons of potatoes at £4 per ton ...	400,000
500,000 lbs. of meat at 1/- per lb. ...	25,000
50,000 doz. of eggs at 2/- per dozen ...	5,000
50,000 quarts of milk at 6d. per quart ...	1,250
100,000 tons of coal at £2. 10s. per ton ...	250,000
100,000 men's suits at £4 each ...	400,000
100,000 women's costumes at £3 each ...	400,000
100,000 children's outfits at £3 each ...	300,000
100,000 pairs blankets at £1. 10s. a pair ...	150,000
200,000 pairs of boots at £1 per pair ...	200,000
	£3,831,250

After the purchase of these commodities there would remain for rent or other expenses the sum of £168,750.

The explanation of so much hunger and destitution in Northern Ireland is that the earnings of industry go not for the purchasing of the utilities which industry creates, but for the ruinous and uneconomic luxuries produced by the liquor traffic. The money earned in industry and agriculture ought largely to go back to the sources from whence it came. Instead, it is diverted to a traffic where the results are worse than if the money were actually buried in the depths of the sea.

Hundreds of this book have already been given away . . .

IF

You think the information therein should be

WIDELY CIRCULATED
IN ALL QUARTERS

Send a donation to

REV. T. M. JOHNSTONE, B.A.
CHURCH HOUSE BELFAST

or for actual supplies of the book at the following rates :

1 copy 7d., 6 copies 3/-, 12 copies 5/9,
25 copies 11/6, 50 copies 22/6,
75 copies 32/6, 100 copies £2.

Post Paid

UNEMPLOYMENT.

NORTHERN IRELAND, in which **Hunger and Destitution** prevail, spent in one year (1928-9) £4,000,000 on drink.

UNEMPLOYMENT, accompanied as it always is by misery and despair, hangs like a pall over our land whilst those in "The Trade" amass great fortunes.

A Board of Trade report on Irish industries gave the following figures as to employment, 1914 :—

	PERSONS EMPLOYED.
Textile Industries	75,692
Clothing, Handkerchiefs, and Millinery ...	41,836
Shipbuilding (assumed)	40,000
Fishing (sea and salmon)	31,213
Building Trade	14,330
Railway Construction and Repairs ...	11,696
Bread and Biscuit Making	9,445
Brewing and Malting	6,451
Distilling	2,423

Hunger and Destitution.

The £4,000,000 spent on drink in Northern Ireland (1928-9) would have paid for :—

50,000 tons of flour at £18 per ton ...	£900,000
50,000 tons of meal at £16 per ton ...	800,000
100,000 tons of potatoes at £4 per ton ...	400,000
500,000 lbs. of meat at 1/- per lb. ...	25,000
50,000 doz. of eggs at 2/- per dozen ...	5,000
50,000 quarts of milk at 6d. per quart ...	1,250
100,000 tons of coal at £2. 10s. per ton ...	250,000
100,000 men's suits at £4 each ...	400,000
100,000 women's costumes at £3 each ...	400,000
100,000 children's outfits at £3 each ...	300,000
100,000 pairs blankets at £1. 10s. a pair ...	150,000
200,000 pairs of boots at £1 per pair ...	200,000
	£3,831,250

After the purchase of these commodities there would remain for rent or other expenses the sum of £168,750.

The explanation of so much hunger and destitution in Northern Ireland is that the earnings of industry go not for the purchasing of the utilities which industry creates, but for the ruinous and uneconomic luxuries produced by the liquor traffic. The money earned in industry and agriculture ought largely to go back to the sources from whence it came. Instead, it is diverted to a traffic where the results are worse than if the money were actually buried in the depths of the sea.

Hundreds of this book
have already been given away . . .

IF

You think the information therein should be

WIDELY CIRCULATED
IN ALL QUARTERS

Send a donation to

REV. T. M. JOHNSTONE, B.A.
CHURCH HOUSE BELFAST

or for actual supplies of the book at the following rates :

1 copy 7d., 6 copies 3/-, 12 copies 5/9,
25 copies 11/6, 50 copies 22/6,
75 copies 32/6, 100 copies £2.

Post Paid

DON'T WORRY ABOUT ENGLAND—

Think of Ulster Unemployment.

The position of Industry in Northern Ireland calls for the immediate help of every good citizen.

20 FACTORIES CLOSED.
4 MILLS CLOSED.
7 MILLS NOT WORKING.
158,808 SPINDLES IDLE.
6,145 LOOMS IDLE.

N.B.—Of the Mills working, fully 20 per cent. of the Spindles are stopped.
Of the Factories working, full 40 per cent. of the Looms are idle.

The percentage of unemployment works out as follows :—

GREAT BRITAIN - - 12.5%.
NORTHERN IRELAND - 17.2%.

These are official calculations.

In view of these terrible figures, can Northern Ireland, with a population not much larger than Glasgow, continue spending on alcohol over £10,000 per day ?

IT IS PROVED
where Drink is banished,
employment and prosperity return

GRAHAM & HEGLIP, LTD., BELFAST.

MSH 26765

END OF
TITLE